APPENDIX IV.

(Vide answer to question No. 48.)

P. No. 43/04. Office of the Diwan of Cochin,
Public Works Department,
30th May 1929.

MEMO.

Reference:—Petition dated 26th Vrischigam 1104 from Mr. Thazhath Veettil Kunhikrishnan Nayar and others forwarded by Mr. K. T. Mathew, B. A., and B. L., M. L. C.

The petitioners are informed that the existing culvert No. 14 will serve the purpose contemplated by them and that the construction of the culvert requested by them cannot be sanctioned.

(By order)
(Sd). Secretary to the Diwan.

To

The Petitioners (through Mr. K. T. Mathew).

Point of order re. the rejection of cut motions.

President.—We had some discussions about these cut motions. I do not want to go into the question whether the President has got the right to disallow them. I just want to know whether it is difficult for you to note the reasons on the back. You may note what the object is, so that we might be enlightened. If I direct the return of all these papers, can you kindly note them on the back of them? I do not want to disallow them.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I had no time. I shall certainly do it.

President.—You have no objection, Mr. Mathew?

Mr. K. T. Mathew.—No. We were following that.

President.—For proper discussion the information is necessary; otherwise the official Members will be at a disadvantage. Your agruments may be a surprise to them, and it is not proper for them to ask for time to enlighten you on the points. Whenever such cut motions are received without noting the reasons, please return them for supplying the omission.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—I shall do so. But it would be far better if, as required, they are noted before they are sent in.

General Discussion of the Budget.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—Mr. President, Sir, I consider it my first and foremost duty to offer my respectful congratulations to His Highness Rama Varmha Tampuran for the spirit which he has displayed in accepting his present appointment. Personally, as a loyal subject of His Highness the Maharaja and His Family, I am not at all in favour of a member of the Royal Family accepting service under His Highness' Government, my reason being that the subjects of His Highness would be placed in a very awkward and delicate position in their dealings with their Royal officer. We are accustomed to worship and venerat

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our beloved Rulers only standing at a respectful distance, and if the members of the Ruling Family begin to descend from the high pedestal in which they stand and move at close quarters with their subjects, the sanctity and sacredness with which the subjects look upon their Rulers are likely to gradually disappear. It is a common knowledge that the priest of the temple never feels that awe and reverence towards the deity inside the *sanctum sanctorum* which a worshipper standing outside ordinarily feels.

His Highness has, therefore, taken a really bold step in this matter. I am really glad that He would have an opportunity to know first-hand how the central Government machinery is working, how its strings are pulled and by whom. I hope His desire to serve His subjects in true spirit will teach Him how He has to set about His business. The present will be of immense help to Him in His future career. I wish Him all success.

The Finance Member will not, I hope, misunderstand me, if I do not offer any congratulations to him for the preparation of the budget. He has no responsibility in preparing it; the figures which find a place there appear there not with his sanction or even approval. He is not consulted in the preparation of this document. His function is simply to compile the several statements forwarded to him by the Diwan and his office. His work is purely mechanical. It would, therefore, be improper on my part to praise him for any of the redeeming features of the budget, if there be any. To my mind, it is equally improper to cast the blame for the innumerable defects in the budget on his shoulders, for he is not responsible for them. The very name of Finance Member, so far as his functions at present are concerned, is a misnomer. How I wish that he were a Finance Member in the real sense of the term!

It is during the General Discussion of the Budget every year that an opportunity is given to the Members of this House, the chosen representatives of the people of this State, to survey and comment on the activities of the Government as also of this Council in the past to point out suggestions for improvements in their workings in future and to remind the Government of the defects in the policy they are pursuing. I shall, therefore, take this opportunity just to offer a few remarks so far as at least the bigger problems of Cochin are concerned. First and foremost is the development of the Cochin Harbour.

This is a very big undertaking which is bound to seriously affect the interests of the whole of Cochin. Its possibilities to increase the welfare of the State as a whole are unbounded. But do the people of this State know anything about the conditions under which our Government has entered into a partnership with British India and Travancore? Do we really know officially

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that there is a partnership even? It may be that, so far as this Council is concerned, the subject is beyond its purview. In fact, the people of this State, whose interests are to be vitally affected by this scheme, are studiously kept in complete darkness about the whole matter. Cannot the Government publish the terms of the treaty they have entered into with the other two powers? Nothing can prevent the Government from keeping the people of this State informed about the details of this matter by the publication of occasional official communiques. Is it wise or statesmanlike to keep the whole matter a secret? The Government will only be strengthening their own hands in their dealings with the other powerful partners, if they take the people of this State also into their confidence. The hearty co-operation and timely advice of the people will, I am sure, be of considerable help to the Government to strengthen their hands in the policy they follow. Why should the Government of Cochin act in this matter as if the people of this State have no interest in the fate of this scheme? His Highness the Maharaja, in the course of a reply to an address presented to His Highness, so long ago as 1919, by the people of Irinjalakkuda, is said to have given an assurance that the terms of the engagement with the other two powers would soon be published. We are here in 1929. But nothing has been done. It is only regrettable that the Government should, in their eagerness to maintain secrecy at any cost, give room for all sorts of apprehensions on the part of the people of this State. Of late, fears have engendered themselves in the minds of the people regarding the question of jurisdiction. The people are not to blame. Their fears are only reasonable and legitimate. Still the Government of Cochin would cling on to their cherished policy of secrecy. This is nothing but cruel.

Intimately connected with this matter is the Railway Problem in Cochin. Here again, the matter is beyond the pale of Council politics; but that is certainly no reason why the people should not know anything about it. Why should the Government refuse to take the views of its own people in matters of such far-reaching importance which are capable of vitally affecting the destinies of the people of this State? It is a pity that the present Minister, himself a son of the soil, should keep himself so aloof from his own people. If it is due to want of confidence in the people, nothing can be more deplorable.

A similar case is the one connected with the inquiry by the Butler Committee. That Committee was, we know,—no doubt unofficially—appointed to examine the treaties entered into by various Rulers of Indian India with the Paramount Power and

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to report regarding the adjustment of their relations with the Crown or the British Indian Government, as also to make suggestions, among other things, regarding financial adjustments as regards Customs Revenue, etc. Can it be seriously questioned by any right-thinking man that the subjects of the several States concerned are vitally interested in this question? But curiously enough, we know absolutely nothing of what our Government's action was in this matter. The people of this State do not know what representations our Government made before the Committee, if any representations worth the name were really made at all. No opinion was taken from the people of this State. They were not consulted. What are those representations worth, if they are not the result of the considered opinion of the people of this State? Is this, I ask, true statesmanship? Does the Government really think that in all these matters it can act independently of its ten lakhs of people who alone are primarily to be affected by the actions of the Government? In short, in every important matter which affects the people as a whole, the doings of the Government are kept secret. The Government seems to think that the people of Cochin are mere dumb cattle. The acting Diwan, Mr. P. Damodara Menon, in the course of his closing address to this Council during the last Budget Session, remarked; "Publicity is our safety." Evidently he was speaking only for himself. In fact we find that the present Government thinks that their whole safety lies in 'secrecy' and 'secrecy' alone.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the other problems of Cochin which are strictly internal and see what the present Government has achieved or at least attempted to achieve in regard to those matters.

I shall confine my remarks only to a few of them. First and foremost stands the question of Agriculture and Irrigation.

These two subjects are intimately connected with each other. Between 70 to 80 per cent of the people of this State are agriculturists by profession. But this profession is at present a very precarious and risky one. No agriculturist is able to make a decent living by depending on agriculture alone. Why is that so? Our soil is fertile enough. We have plenty of rivers. There is no scarcity of rainfall, though very often they are not seasonal. Failure of crops due to droughts very often, and due to floods occasionally, is, however, a very common phenomenon in our State. Famines are not very rare. Have our Government ever seriously attempted to find out the causes of these maladies and discover remedies? Absence of sufficient irrigation facilities accounts for the misfortune of our agriculturists. This

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Council, ever since it was constituted, has been crying itself hoarse on this matter. There have been insistent demands in this line from the people even before this Council came into being. Has the Government thought it fit to devote its serious attention to this all-important question? Have they ever carried on any systematic investigations regarding this matter? A canal here, a *chira* there, or a bund in one place only to give way under the onslaughts of a sweeping flood, or a drainage canal in another place which cannot stand the wear and tear of Nature even for a few years, will not really solve this problem. Even the lump provision of one lakh that was allotted in the last budget was never utilised. Unless and until something substantial and permanent is done, agriculture can never become a real source of income to the people of Cochin.

The next subject which should receive attention is Industrial Developments. Electricity is well understood to be an agent which can be utilised for carrying on not only big industrial concerns, but also which can be made useful in several other ways to increase the material prosperity and comforts of the people. Has the present Diwan ever tried to deal with this question? Has this Council not been repeatedly drawing the attention of the Government to this important question? In Mysore, we all know, electricity is creating wonders. We also have, I understand, very good facilities for generating electricity by properly utilising our water-falls, which falls are not only not inferior to those in Mysore, but decidedly superior. In fact, there was a Hydro-Electric scheme, to which I have had the opportunity to draw the attention of our Government last year, drawn up by Mr. Bhore, when he was the Diwan of this State. But what has become of it now? It has been thrown into oblivion. It was the duty of the Government to have got that scheme properly examined and investigated, if necessary, by an expert; it was the duty of the Government to have set about in right earnest to do something in this direction. It would be a source of employment to a large number of the unemployed in this State. It would be an ultimate source of gain to the Government. Why can't our Government be more active in these matters? Why can't our Government take its lessons from Progressive Mysore in this matter? Let us hope that this will not be a cry in the wilderness. It is no doubt refreshing to find that the Government is convinced of the necessity of investigating the matter. Let me only hope that they are really sincere in their protestations regarding these matters.

Again looking at the realities of things, what is it that the Government have done to equip its citizens to enable them to

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utilise the possibilities of employment that may be thrown open to them by the Harbour when it is fully developed? Has the Government been making any preparations in this direction? Industrial education, commercial training, instruction in engineering in all its aspects, in fact, every kind of technical training and qualification that may be necessary for our people to reap the benefits and advantages that may be thrown open to them by the development of the Harbour and Railways have been denied to our people. The whole of skilled labour will pass into the hands of people from outside. All commercial profits will go into the pockets of the outsider. Given the opportunities and the facilities, our people can successfully compete with the people of any other State. A little sympathy and support from the Government would make the situation easy and workable. But our Government do not seem to have as yet realised the situation. The question of unemployment is a very serious and difficult question for the Government, in the first instance, to tackle with. Would our Government realise the situation? Let us hope that it will, if Cochinites are not destined for ever to be mere coolies and petty clerks, ministering to the commands and dictates of their outside master or official superior.

Here it may be worth-while to bring home to the Government the increasingly serious difficulties that our boys have to encounter year after year. Our boys cannot find admission in any of the Technical Institutions and Colleges outside, and we are not, it is said, rich enough to work such institutions here. How, then, shall we help our boys? Has the Government even cared to consider this problem seriously? Even in Arts Colleges, in the Science sections especially, Cochin boys are turned out. They are denied admission simply because they happen to be Cochinites. The British Indian Colleges demand at present exorbitant sums if they want our young men to be trained there. The Dehra Dun College is an instance in point. In short, to be a Cochinite has come to be looked upon as a serious and menacing handicap in the race of life.

The question of finding employment outside the State has been made impossible for our young men. But still we do not seem to have given up our cherished mania of importing men from outside to man our services here. In future, Cochin boys will have to find employment in Cochin itself; British India will not employ them, not because they are intellectually or in any other respect inferior to their British Indian comrades,—in fact they are decidedly superior—but because they have the misfortune to be Cochinites. These are, to my mind, very serious and important problems. The Government ought to realise the realities, and face these questions with a bold front.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

They must try to solve these problems satisfactorily, and unless the Government do that, they have not fulfilled the duty they owe to their subjects. It is the primary duty of every civilised Government to equip every citizen consigned to its care, to earn a decent living by honest means by providing him with all possible facilities. Our Government is very slow to realise the realities of life. Have they ever thought of this question of growing unemployment, which, if not curbed in its growth, will, in the very near future, become at once a serious menace and a standing monument of shame to a civilised and advanced State like ours?

The only reason—to my mind it appears so—why these urgent problems are not seriously considered and tackled with is because there is no real responsible Government in Cochin. The Diwan is the only individual who is solely responsible for carrying on the whole administration. Though there are Heads of Departments under him, presiding over the various branches of administration in the State, they have no real power in them. It is the Diwan and the Diwan alone who lays down the whole policy of administration. He may, if it so pleases him, take the advice of his Departmental Heads, but he is not bound to do so. Such a system of administration is certainly not suitable to any country which claims any pretension to call itself civilised. It might have been good enough for the old archaic days. But times have changed and are changing. People have begun to look at things from a different perspective. Self-determination has become the watch-word of the day. Nobody, if he could possibly help it, would like to be ruled by another against his will, and that in the most despotic manner. Big constitutional changes are taking place all over the world. The people of Cochin have also begun to ask for a really responsible form of Government; and it is no wonder. They rightly think that the right form of Government, which would, with all earnestness, cater to the legitimate needs of the people and endeavour to promote the material prosperity and well-being of the people at large by earnest devotion and concentrated attention to the solution of important problems of far-reaching consequences to the people, is a really responsible form of Government. One man at the head of the whole administration with all power centralised in him can never be a success in the business of administration. He is sure to give way to the unbearable weight of the powers burdened on his head. However good or competent that one may be, the system is bound to end in absolute failure. It must not be forgotten that the fault is in the system and not in the man

A small Council of Ministers, with joint responsibility as

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amongst themselves and directly responsible to the people, is the only form of Government that can satisfactorily solve these important problems. Our Rulers are sympathetic and broad-minded enough to set up any form of responsible Government. Our Diwans, in their extreme anxiety and unbounded selfishness to conserve all power in them and in their short-sightedness, have been systematically turning their heads away from any such reform. The very idea of responsibility to the people is, it seems, shocking to them. Their idea of responsibility is that which they owe to the Ruler of the State, and there it ends. The sooner they begin to realise that their responsibility to the people is even greater, the better for all concerned.

This brings me directly to the question of the Legislative Council and its present position. This Council is supposed to be a body constituted to control and check the actions of the Executive Government. This Council has now been in existence for the last four years. Constitutionally its powers are very very limited. Many of the important subjects are outside its reach. In name, it has certain very limited powers. The power of interpellation that is vested in it is only a power to beg for information. Even this prayer is in substance denied to the people. Sometimes the information sought for is denied, if the Government finds that it would land them in inconvenient and awkward situations. Sometimes questions themselves are disallowed, if they find it inconvenient to supply the information the questions seek. Even when the information is given, oftentimes it is either incomplete or evasive. Do the Government really think that it is not out of a very serious sense of responsibility that this non-official section of this Council interpellates the Government? If so, the sooner we are told so, the better for one and all concerned. The resolutions of this Council are mere recommendations which the Government are not bound to accept. If it pleases them, they may do so. Strangely enough, our Government have cherished a peculiar fondness to reject almost every such recommendation, however important or well-considered it might be. The most pitiable part of it is that, when it rejects, the Government cannot find its way even to employ graceful language. It takes a peculiar, but unwarranted, pleasure in offending, wherever possible, the non-official section of this House. This Council is supposed to hold the strings of the purse in its hands. If we examine the question, we at once find that it is a big device hit upon by the Government to do as they please under the guise of popular sanction. You will find, Sir, that this Council cannot touch the pay of even an Overseer in the P. W. D. or of the Inspectorate of the Excise Department. Even as regards the items made votable,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the Council cannot scrutinise the details of expenditure when once the amount has been voted. This explains why the Government invariably makes demands of lump sums amounting to 2 lakhs and 3 lakhs even. There are all sorts of powers reserved in the Government to be invoked to serve their purpose. It is my regrettable duty, Sir, to point out that the present Diwan has been very freely, in season and out of season, exercising such powers. They are not intended, Sir, as a weapon to flout the non-official section of this House wherever and whenever possible; they are powers vested in the Government to be used very sparingly and that in absolutely unavoidable cases. Sir, the present Diwan has been so very jealous of the little power that has been given to this Council. The history of this Council's growth during the short period it has been in existence, as disclosed in the printed Proceedings and the various Proceedings issued in the Gazette, will, I am sure, convince any casual observer that the attempt of the present Diwan has throughout been to rigorously and systematically stifle its growth altogether. His recent pronouncement with regard to the rejection of a very important resolution of this Council is calculated to exasperate even the extremest of loyalists. Sir, I had occasion last year at this time to remark that there was an impression that this Council is only a farce and a costly farce too. Experience has only strengthened the belief in me. So long as the Chief Executive Head of the State is presiding over the destinies of this Council, there can never be the least chance of its harmonious growth. The Diwan-President is an anomaly. Until this Council has its elected President, what little power this Council has is always liable to be checked and thwarted.

To me, Sir, it appears that this Council is a clever device set up by the Government to deceive the people into the belief that all actions of theirs are done after taking the opinion of the chosen representatives of the people and with their approval. But the only consolation is that the Cochin people are not so foolish as to believe it. They have come to realise that this Council is of no use to them. Unless this Council is vested with substantial powers to control and check the Executive, the money spent on the maintenance of this institution is a public waste.

A more sympathetic and liberal-minded Diwan might have advised His Highness the Maharaja to set up a really responsible form of Government in this State. Cochin people are very well advanced in education. They can successfully compete with any other State in India, nay even with British India. There is no reason why Cochin should not set up an example

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to be followed by sister States. Changes are bound to occur sooner or later. The present form of Government will have to give place to a more responsible form of it. Would it not be wise for the Government to accede to the wishes of the people without further delay? Cochin people cannot be put off for all times to come. Why not give willingly, Sir, instead of driving the people to wrest it from you? The present Diwan had a great opportunity before him. Much was expected of him, a son of the soil. But the past experience has been sadly disappointing from the point of view of the people. It is never too late to mend. Let us only hope that, at least in future, he would view the legitimate aspirations and ambitions of the people, over whose destinies he has been chosen to preside, with a little more broad-mindedness and sympathy.

Sir, I do not want to touch upon the administration of any of the Departments, as, in my view, no amount of criticism, either constructive or destructive, will mend matters. The root malady has to be successfully treated for before you try to remedy other outward evils, which are only the ramifications of the root malady.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Sir, allow me also to take this opportunity to extend a cordial and hearty welcome to H. H. Prince Rama Varma, 40th Prince of the Ruling Family of Cochin on H. H.'s entrance to this House on His nomination to this Council, which is a rare event in the annals of the administration of Native States; only one such instance was attempted to my knowledge in the neighbouring State of Travancore, when H. H. Rama Varma Visakham Thirunal, who afterwards became the Maharaja of Travancore from 1055—1060 M. E., was offered a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, while He was yet a Prince, which rare honour was declined then on considerations of health by His Highness. Hitherto the Royal Family was in theory above practical politics, and this unique event of His Highness' appointment as Secretary to the Diwan of the State has brought about a complete change in the angle of vision of the people of Cochin towards the Royal Family in that the appointment has afforded the people of the State an opportunity to come into direct contact with the Ruling Family in Cochin whereas hitherto it could be approached only through intermediaries. Although the old system had the advantage that the Royalty was kept above reproach, it had the disadvantage that the various inner forces in the political atmosphere were sometimes keeping the Royalty misinformed of the real situation to gain their own ends. I am sure His Highness will open his eyes to the situation and see things for himself without

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succumbing to the influencss which may surround him and will preserve the honour of the Family and the purity of administration, which have been the characteristics associated with this ancient House by the people of this land, and may His Highness' endeavours in the practical administration of the State be in fulfilment of the happiness of the people entrusted to His care. His Highness had opportunities to come into direct contact with the advanced political institutions of the West when His Highness boldly ventured to break the bonds of custom in crossing the sea and spending a useful part of his time in his education in the West, and I am sure His Highness will venture in the administration a blending of the material prosperity of the West with the spiritual purity of the East. His Highness will do well to keep in mind the words of Lord Curzon with reference to the duties of Native Rulers, which are :—

"A Native Ruler must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification but for the good of his subject; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; that his gadi is not intended to be a divan of indulgence but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground or on the race course or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, but his real work, his princely duty lies among his own people".

Sir, this is the second budget of this Legislative Council. In passing orders rejecting the unanimous resolution of this Council to appoint a 'Public Accounts Committee' as we find in all civilized Governments, this Government has expressed to the effect, to use the very words of the Government, "that this Council is only in its infant stage" and the Council is declared to be incompetent to be entrusted with any more powers of control over expenditure. As at present constituted, even though this Council is permitted to make observations on a few limited items of expenditure, this power itself is stultified when the Government freely indulges in transfers of allotments behind the back of this Council. Under such enlarged powers in the hands of the Executive Government, I do not believe that any useful purpose will be served by a scrutiny of the various items in the budget as it is done in other places, where Mmembers of the Council do not look upon the budget as merely the occasion for the annual full-dress flourish of their political faith but prefer to follow the more painful and less ostentatious course of examining at least in their broader aspects each item

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

of the important 'getting and spending' propositions of the Government. Among the infants of this Council, you have, Sir, in the Deputy President of the Council a person who was at the Bar for a third of a century and who was the official superior of the present Diwan of Cochin, another who has grown grey in plantations and who is privileged on account of old age to address this Council without standing on his legs contrary to the Rules of this House, another with considerable reputation who was in the medical profession for very nearly half a century, another a full-blown graduate who is an expert in agriculture with practical experience for quarter of a century, another who has grown grey in the service of the State and who was reputed to be a very efficient officer in his time, another an expert in medicine who has spent a dozen years of his life in the advanced countries of the West, another once a Municipal Chairman to whose care even the young Members of our Royal Family, the Government once thought, could be safely entrusted, several others who were entrusted with the administration of Municipalities by this Government, then others with high qualifications in Law with considerable experience and wide practice at the Bar and others too with experience in commerce and industries; in contrast to men with such wide experience in different fields on the non-official side of this House, although on the official side you have in the President a person who has been closeted in the Bench for quarter of a century, another who became an agriculturist at the fag end of his official career with experience of farming in Scotland and Germany, another who is very nearly three score and ten with roaming experience in the medical profession, another a calculating expert in casting figures, another a Revenue Officer with considerable judicial experience, another who has travelled in America and the Continent to study Engineering, another who has reached the middle of the span of human life and is at home to children, and many other executive officers with judicial training, it is true on the non-official side there are a few elements who are not quite satisfied with the humdrum existence of the routine world and who do not think that the duty of an official ends with drawing his pay and allowances and getting a few appointments and provisions to their friends and relations, and I believe that is why this Council is characterised by the Government as incompetent to see how the money for which a purpose is stated in the budget has been subsequently utilised. Sir, those who govern owe a duty to govern and those who are governed owe a duty to themselves to struggle for the establishment of a just Government based on principles approved by

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the country, whatever the cost, whatever the sacrifices involved in making that endeavour. Politics does not mean merely following the softest road, the path of least resistance. It is doing something vital. Those in power might literally close their ears to everything that might disturb their habitual self-complacence; such self-complacence is bound to meet with a rude awakening some day. To adopt the words of our noble-minded Viceroy, His Excellency Lord Irwin, used in defence of the Government of India at the Chelmsford Club.

"A constitution should be analogous not to the schoolboy's coat which man outgrows but to the bark of a tree which expands with the natural growth of years".

Sir, "I do not claim that this Council is perfect; few human institutions are; but I do claim that it enjoys no monopoly of human wickedness and that its opponents enjoy no monopoly of human wisdom. Perhaps in your mind you now propose to keep an eye on this ward entrusted to your care as President. At present you know the utmost, that a Member of this Legislative Council can do, is to provoke discussion and thought, and if the President happens to be in a good and generous mood, the Members can indulge in a certain amount of frank and refreshing talk and sometimes enjoy the luxury of sounding a gentle warning. The non-officials appropriately deserve the sonorous appellation of 'soldiers without arms'. We spend seven days in voting on demands for grants and that too in respect of a limited portion of the budget, and we disperse after this annual farce with no benefit to the country, and if, by some fluke or other, any cut is carried, it is certified with lightning speed and the expenditure is restored.

A State is not to be run on domestic lines. Neither is the State the joint-stock company of a few share-holders. Before any Government undertakes the administration of a country, a survey of the economic condition of the people as to their wealth and income should have been made, both as a business concern or in the interests of humanity, so as to enable the Government to understand the capacity of the people to bear taxes, the amount of tax to be levied and fix the administrative charges in proportion to the tax gathered. No such attempt is made here and the tax bears no relation to the prosperity or adversity of the people in general. The density of population stands very high in Cochin. There is absolutely no attempt made to increase the wealth or income of the population. The economic condition of the people and the country can improve only when the Government is able to find funds for the internal development of the country. To-day the agricultural indebtedness comes to

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large figures. And is any attempt made to redeem this indebtedness? To refer to an instance, a provision of a lakh of rupees for irrigation was made in the last budget; although the Government is in possession of various schemes, as stated by the Diwan on a previous occasion in this Council, in spite of the fact that it was promised the diversion of the Karuvannoor Scheme would be taken up this year, the Government is unable to make use of the budget provision this year and we find now a paltry sum of Rs. 5,000 is provided in the budget of 1105 for Karuvannoor Scheme, although the estimate comes roughly to a lakh and a half for the same. This shows the Government is utterly incompetent to solve the problem in spite of all facilities afforded to them by supplying all necessary funds. In the face of this evasive attitude and childish pranks, there is absolutely no chance for the people improving their conditions. Why not organise village Banks and give relief to the agricultural population? The toiling cultivators who contribute most to the State Revenue receive the least in return. The wonderful Co-operative Societies and Co-operative Banks seldom touch the fringe of the problem of agricultural indebtedness. Why there is little progress in the economic conditions of the people in Cochin is that there is a failure to build up our foundations properly, and the greatest problem of the future is how to direct the advancement of the rural population and co-ordinate it with other activities for our economic and political regeneration. The Village Panchayats should be made the pivot of local administration. Funds should be utilised for relief of the economic condition of the people. Instead of that, increasing provision is made in our budget every year for building under Public Works; the amount of Rs. 2,69,524 for 'Building-Original and Repairs' in the budget for 1101 has risen to Rs. 7,35,431 in the budget for 1105.

The want of a sound financial policy in the framing of the budgets is evident to all observers. Large amounts are collected without any specific aim and an equally large proposal for expenditure without any solid basis is made in the budget. The taxation per head of population comes, according to the available figures of 1926, at Rs. 7—5 in Cochin whereas in Travancore it is only Rs. 5—8, in Mysore only Rs. 5—14, and in Hyderabad only Rs. 5—6. A desire to hoard up balances and at the same time an attempt at camonflage to show that the whole revenue is spent seems to be the key-note of the financial policy of this Government. Whereas a surplus of Rs. 1,68,000 was budgetted for 1101, the actual accounts of 1101 showed a surplus of Rs. 6,67,690; the budget surplus of Rs. 1,45,700 for

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

1102 rose to Rs. 8,47,442 and the budget surplus of Rs. 1.93,100 or 1103 came to Rs. 19,10,165 and the budget surplus of Rs. 2,89,800 is under the revised estimate of 1104 likely to be Rs. 12,80,200. A strong tendency to under-estimate receipts and over-estimate expenditure is exhibited. By showing small surpluses in the budget, the Government wants to create the hallucination that almost every pie of the collection is spent and no funds are available for many other urgent and useful things with which the Finance Member can pretend to be in full lip-sympathy, and everything useful from the view of the people is put off for want of funds. In practice, Sir, you are able to hoard up large balances to be invested in foreign banks, etc., at small rates of interest with no advantage to the people of the State. On the expenditure side, there are admittedly a large number of items in all Departments, which are fixed more or less such as the 'Salaries Establishment Charges, Allowances, Supplies, and Services and Contingencies,' and there are a few items which are variable according to the discretion of Government, and the real budgetting in Cochin is only the fixing of the items in the latter class of expenditure. By a perusal of the various such items budgetted during the last four years from 1101 to 1104, it is evident that there is no thought of any lasting improvement to the country and items of work are selected at random on reasons not intelligible to the people in general. Not only that, transfers of even such allotments are freely made and money is spent on new items which will never see the light of day and excess expenditure over approved items is also made by transfer of allotments without any motion in this Council for supplementary grants. Is it not illusory on the part of the Members of this Council to imagine that they have any control over the expenditure for votable items—not to mention the large, unlimited and arbitrary expenditure on non-votable items which are increasingly budgetted every year —when such transfers are made behind them? Why should we waste our time by examining all these items printed in the budget in detail and why not allow the Government to print their budget in a quarter sheet of paper showing lump provision for the various Departments of the State in figures running to thousands? Is it not unbusiness-like to budget for items without estimates as it is freely indulged in in the Public Works Department in our budgets? We are only treated like a doctor who can see the patient at a distance, leaving the prescription to be made by the patient, and we are not allowed even the post-mortem examination of the body of our budget. The Government is not earnest in spending money for 'nation-building' purposes. Even after providing for 86 lakhs of expenditure for

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

1105, the allotment for irrigation is miserable. The impression of this budget left on my mind is it is a poor, miserly budget, and it is impossible to improve matters so long as the present method of budgetting continues. Unless vigorous enforcement of laws for the continuance of economy in public expenditure, expansion of public works useful to the people, the promotion of welfare activities affecting education and home, the development of self-government, the perfection of justice, the maintenance of order and liberty, the denial of domination by any person, group or class, the building up and preservation of equality of opportunity, absolute integrity in public affairs, maintenance of education and tolerance of all faiths and publicity in all matters relating to the Government are made the key-note of our policy, in spite of our large literacy, and the high intelligence of our people, there is no salvation for Cochin and her people. One's heart bleeds when it is brought home to the mind that our economic condition is at a low, a very low ebb when the average income of our population is only Rs. 36 per head of population whereas in Travancore and Mysore it is estimated at Rs. 60 per head of population. The Finance Members of all civilised Governments act more as watch-dogs of the tax-payer than as defenders of Government expenditure, and how strongly do I wish that a time may come when a similar system will prevail here. The present system of administration has tended to crush all life and in many cases even the last spark of self-respect from amongst the people. If this system is allowed to prevail for a long period, long habitation is prone to dull the edge of the sufferer's sensitiveness to injustice, however outrageous; he is wont in such a case to regard it as part of the destiny to which he is born and sit with folded hands submitting tamely and doing nothing to better his lot. It sometimes happens that even the thought is killed and the submission proceeds unaccompanied by any glimmer of consciousness. This state of apathy is worse than death. When it overtakes an entire population, there is no hope for them until, to begin with, the apathy which is at the root of their inaction is got rid of.

There is also another matter in the attitude of the Government towards this Council indicative of their indifference or rather contempt to this Council. I refer to the deliberate omission in the Finance Member's speech to the large sechemes now in the anvil of the Government, such as the conversion of the existing metre-gauge to broad-gauge, the Harbour scheme and the like. With regard to these matters, this House has not been taken into the confidence of the Government. Is it because of the embryonic nature of our brains ? Even though discussions in this Council on Railway, Harbour, and other

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

questions are forbidden by the Legislative Council Regulation and Rules, that is no reason why this House should not be kept informed of matters where the vital interests of the subjects are concerned. Are not these schemes to be financed from public funds? Is it not the practice of the Finance Members of the Travancore and Mysore Legislative Councils to refer to the salient features of large undertakings? Is it fair that the public should be left to gather from news-papers published in Madras and elsewhere that our Government propose to borrow 30 lakhs for constructing the Railway? Then again, why has not this Council been taken into confidence in the matter of the memorandum furnished by our Government to the Butler Committee? I may point out that the Diwan of Mysore invariably refers in the Council to the attitude of the Government of the Maharaja of Mysore to important questions relating to the relationship of Mysore with the Paramount Power, and it was only very recently that the Travancore Memorandum submitted to the Butler Committee was made available to the public. That there is highest place for literacy and education is claimed for our State and yet the public are not kept informed of important things around them. This state of things indicates either the obliqueness of the powers that be who are shaping the destinies of Cochin and her people. It will not be inappropriate to bring to your notice, Sir, the pertinent observations of the Butler Committee contained in paras 49 and 50 of their valuable report.

"*49. Princes and People.* The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the State against rebellion or insurrection is derived from the clauses of treaties and sanads, from usage, and from the promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and diginities of the Princes. This duty imposes on the Paramount Power correlative obligations in cases where its intervention is asked for or has become necessary. The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result.

50. Popular Demands in States. The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and diginities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in the preceding paragraph: If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a wide-spread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Prince; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince. No such case has yet arisen or is likely to arise if the Prince's rule is just and efficient, and in particular if the advice given by His Excellency Lord Irwin to the Princes, and accepted in principle by their Chamber, is adopted in regard to *a fixed privy purse, security of tenure in the public services and an independent judiciary.*

The combination of circumstances in Cochin is propitious to make a bid for improvement in all directions. May better counsel prevail is my final prayer to Providence.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Sir, I am sorry I cannot congratulate the Government on the budget for retailing this grandmother's story. It is a still-stand budget. It is not forward moving. It makes no attempt to meet the demands of the people. Our Government have no Development Department. We hear of progress, progress, everywhere. We have to look for the administrative progress our Government have made to the progress the various Departments have had.

The State has to build up its progress on the foundation of rural reconstruction. The villages are over-crowded, the houses are most insanitary. The majority who live there are living from hand to mouth. Is it not time for the Government to turn their attention to the comforts and convenience of these people on whose labour our State's present and future is dependent? Have the Government budgetted for the resuscitation of the now defunct hand-spinning? Have they budgetted for the establishment of Land-Mortgage or Co-operative Banks for the help of the poor ryots? What industry have they provided for, for the unemployed in the rural tracts? What convenience do they provide for the daily routine work of the ryots? What facilities have they provided for the work-a-day life of the people? I find nothing. I have been asking for a bridge over the Korayar near Eruthempathy in my constituency for the last three years, that the inhabitants on either side may not be disassociated from each other, that the inhabitants on the other side may continue to be under the unremitting protection of the Cochin Darbar all the year round. Last year the Government conceded the necessity of the same and had the place inspected and surveyed. Yesterday you, Sir, referred to the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

floods in these parts. I am sorry I have to narrate it also. During the recent floods a father and mother had to cross a river.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—Which is the matter the Member is referring to?

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Floods in the Korayar river. Sir, consider the case of parents who have crossed the river in quest of work leaving their young ones in the charge of a ten year old girl and who were arrested in their quick march home with the provisions for the day by the flood in the river. What did your energetic Chief Engineer, sympathetic Diwan Peishkar and the pitiful Diwan do in their case? Is it that their veins are so dried up of the milk of human kindness that they require to be flooded with visitations which make the people destitute and homeless?

Last year the Government conceded the necessity of the same and had the place inspected and surveyed. Every hope was given us thus of the acceptance of our prayers. But lo! there is nothing in the budget. Thus they are neglecting one of their urgent and imperative duties. While they are spending the first instalment of Rs. 20,000 for the beautification of this town which the Council thought was unnecessary for the present and could wait and disallowed but which the Government have certified. Thus they attack the grave problem of rural reconstruction.

The prime industry of the State is agriculture. Our peasants cultivate small holdings. The calls on their purses are increasing by leaps and bounds owing to new fangled ideas. They have no supplementary income from domestic handicrafts. If the Government have only perused the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, their false position in not having paid particular attention to agriculture would have been realised. Since the inauguration of this Council, we have been bringing to the notice of the Government that this Department had been of no material good to the State, that model demonstration farms should be established in each of the taluks and that the Superintendent of Agriculture should be relieved of his Panchayat work. The Government, have turned a deaf ear to all these. Not only that, the Government which were assisting certain ryots last year with manures and advice preaching improved methods of agriculture, have abruptly discontinued it this year for reasons best known to themselves. They began it last year and they stopped it also last year. Thus they play ducks and drakes with the public money. There can be no item in the budget which can make a more convincing claim on Government Treasury than agriculture. For the brunt of taxation

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

in the State falls on the agricultural classes, yet the Government have been thick-skinned to receive our protestations to apportion a good bit of it for their benefit. In this connection, I may recall to this House of the resolution passed with one voice in this Council to station stud-bulls in each of the taluks. The Government had more than once admitted the necessity for the same. In that resolution we had inadvertently required that the bulls might be stationed in the Veterinary Hospitals. The Government could not accept the resolution since the bulls if stationed in the Veterinary Hospitals would be exposed to contagion. Sir, when the resolution was passed in the Council, the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer was present, the Agricultural Superintendent was present and the Secretary to the Diwan, the author of the note vetoing the resolution, was also present. There was some aberration in their brains then, which gave the Government now their good chance of putting forth this specious argument. The Government which had the sagacity to take note of the spirit of the resolution regarding the location of toddy shops—was it the toddy that made them to note the spirit of it—which entailed no expense, could not understand the spirit of the stud-bull resolution. What shall I say but exclaim O! Pusillanimity, thou art wanton.

Sir, you had yesterday invited our co-operation in making the visit of His Excellency Lord Irwin pleasant for His Excellency. There is no use of white-washing your exterior and painting your face (Irwin Park.) If you desire the good will of His Excellency, whatever you do to commemorate the visit of His Excellency to the State, it must be in furtherance of agriculture which His Excellency has made a hobby and on which His Excellency is an authority. Nothing will be more agreeable to the Viceroy than doing in memory of His Excellency's visit something tangible for agriculture. Let it mark the beginning of an 'Irwin Agricultural College'.

This Council had been told oftand anon that the Excise policy of the Government was gradual prohibition. Besides proclaiming their policy they have not raised their little finger towards its accomplishment. They have not tried local option, they have no propaganda and they are known to have done nothing to lessen the drink evil. They are distilling arrack to minister, nay, to pander, to the immoral and unholy cravings of the people. They should have discontinued or at least lessened the supply of arrack if they considered the demoralising, the devitalising effect of it on the people and if they had faith in the furtherance of their policy. But the cat is out of the bag. The Diwan is ready to pat on the back of the Superintendent if he

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

showed some increase in the Abkari Department. What can the Superintendent do but try his best to earn the good will of the Diwan? Having born a buffalo he cannot withdraw from the yoke. It is one of the sins of office.

The Revenue Department is not behind-hand in augmenting the resources of the State. This Department is above all law and reason. It is bereft of the moral virtues of generosity, humanity and a helpful disposition. It has no compunction, no qualm of conscience, in acting contrary to the expressed desires of His Highness, our beloved Maharajah. They are imposing on the newly reclaimed double-crop lands—lands which were settled as single-crop lands and which were after Settlement made fit for double-crop cultivation by the efforts of the owner—a double-crop assessment, even though His Highness has proclaimed that during a period of thirty years the assessment shall not in any way be enhanced even if *parambas* had been converted into *nilams* and *vice versa*. "In short, no interference of any kind will be permitted with the new Settlement when it is completed for the next thirty years".

The price it has fixed for disafforested lands is very exorbitant. It has not cared to see the situation and productivity of the lands. These lands are invariably in the malarial tracts. They are high level lands. The major portion of these were at one time considered to be least fitted for cultivation. They were at one time in the possession of private men. They were taken out of their possession for what remuneration you well know, Sir. They are now assigned for prices varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 75 per acre. The price is fixed with no consideration of the situation and productivity of the soil and hence it is arbitrary and exorbitant.

The rate of assessment of *Pandaravaka verumpattam parambas* range as per Proclamation from four annas to two rupees per acre in the Chittur Taluk fixed in consideration of the productivity of the soil. These *parambas* verge the malarial tract and are classed in the seventh *taram*, the rate of assessment for which is four annas per acre. The newly assigned disafforested lands. Which are of the same or of a low taram and which lie contiguous to this *taram*, are taxed at Rs 2—8—0 per acre. The Government have thus imposed on *parambas*, which are admittedly less productive and less suitably situated for cultivation, a tax which is ten times higher than the tax on *parambas*, the situation and productivity of which were well considered at the time of the Settlement.

President.—Which is the imposed rate?

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Two rupees and eight annas per acre for *parambas*.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

They have thus gone beyond the Settlement Proclamation. How they have arrived at it and on what authority they should explain. It is thus an unjust and illegal imposition. The lands were ordered to be deforested and assigned that the ryots may profit by cultivating them. Such a high impost does not help the ryots much to realise the full benefit of His Highness' high intentions. His Highness could not dream that His Highness' deputies would transgress the directions given to them and make this high charge on these lands. Hence the impost is immoral. Further, Sir, this impost is the outcome of the over-zealousness of the officer who presided over this Department for a long time. He has expressed in the Council that it was no disqualification to wring out from the loyal and law—abiding citizens of His Highness as much as he can to show an increase in collection in his Department regardless of the fact that he is appointed to carry out the sympathetic policy of His Highness as adumberated in the Proclamation.

Further, this impost is the thin end of a wedge to break open the heads of landholders at the next Settlement. If this imposition is accepted lying down without a demur, the Settlement Officer next time can put forward a plausible argument to fix the rate at Rs. 2—8—0 per acre as the minimum in assessing *parambas* which are better situated and more productive. Hence you will be pleased to find, Sir, that this imposition is mischievous also.

Now a word about the incidence of this impost. The assignees have to pay the whole tax for the year, even though the assignment was so advanced in the agricultural year, that he would not be able to benefit by the assignment that year. Sir, if I take an assignment to-day, I have to pay the whole of the assessment of the year to-morrow whether I cultivate it or not. I have benefited nothing from the assignment. Can anything be more iniquitous ? Have not the Government in this matter outczared the Czar of all Russians ?

Sir, we had brought to the notice of the Government that our boys find it difficult to get admission into the Medical and Engineering Colleges of Madras, because of the rumoured refusal of help to these Colleges by the Government when they were approached for the same. This help would have been insignificant to the Government. it would be but a drop in the ocean, but the difficulty created by the refusal to the student population was immense. We hear of many cases of consumption in the State. The Government have made no special arrangement for treating it. Yet they do not find their way to help Dr. Muthu at Thambaram that his sympathies may be secured to our afflicted. But our Government are not noted for their sympathy towards the governed.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Sir, we hear of demands for constitutional reforms and responsible Government, etc., from every quarter. We also had our prayer for another instalment of reform; but the Government have thought it was not yet time for the same—the stereotyped reply of the old British bureancrat. In what way have we shown our incompetence for it? Have we abused what has been given us? Or do they think that those who have donned the official garb alone are fit to carry on the Government? In that do they not forget, Sir, that they should themselves be ready for constitutional changes and that it was their legitimate duty to prepare us for such changes? When other states are equipping themselves, our Government wish to be spoon-fed. Have they a military? They have a Military Department more evident in the Civil List and the budget. Why do they not give their men of the Nayar Brigade a sound military training under an able military officer borrowed for the time being and make them befit the name? Why do they not have a College corps and get the boys trained? They do not learn from others what they should. Now that they have budgetted for "military barracks"—high-sounding words these—shall we hope that none other than military trained men will be housed in them?

Thus, you will be pleased to find, Sir, that, when all around us are exerting their level best, are up in arms to provide for future contingencies, our Government, with no imagination, with no foresight, are quite contented Shylock-like, like hundi merchants to count their coins and snail-like to enjoy their security in the shell of a surplus. We are not hoodwinked by the small surplus shown in the budget. We do understand that the allotments are such that there will be a great surplus when the actuals are struck in the end of the year. This budget is thus bereft of high adventures, striking features and bold statesmanship.

Thus you see, Sir, that our progress is nill, and for a Govment to be politically progressing it must be effective and much less expensive. That it should be effective it should be genuinely interested in the welfare of its people which I have shown our Government is not. This is mainly due to its not being amenable to the control of the people. Lord Ripon had once said that "Public opinion ought to be the irresistible and unrestricted master of the Government", and we have seen how our Government have instead flouted their master, public opinion as expressed in this Council by the accredited representatives of the people. And our expenses are heavy. We have a top-heavy administration. Our Government have imbibed a knack to make it top-heavy, and they have been true to it. They are pursuing the mad policy of appointing highly paid officials

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

to posts which do not carry such high pay. They are creating temporary posts rather evanescent, with high salaries unwarranted, to be filled up by, or provide for, officers who are for the time being in their good books. Their policy in appointing and promoting officers is not with reference to the integrity and efficiency of the person appointed or promoted. The best hanger-on is well patronised. Ask the rickshaw-wallas and they will tell you of the race they enjoy when any vacancy is imminent.

Sir, while congratulating H. H. Rama Varmha on being appointed Secretary to the Diwan, I enter my humble but emphatic protest on the appointment of gentlemen of the blood Royal to posts which would necessitate their presence in this Council. For, Sir, to err is human, and if it falls to the lot of some of us to pass scathing criticisms on their omissions and commissions, with or without sufficient reason, it is possible for them to entertain prejudices and predilections which, if carried with them to the Gadi, would work woe to us, to our *tarwads*, to our families, to our children or childrens' children.

You, Sir, in congratulating the Prince, transgressed your limits yesterday as my friends who spoke on the Damodara Menon resolution—of course both with ulterior objects. I shall not enter into a controversy regarding it. I shall content myself by putting to you these questions. Was it the dearth of educated scions in the Royal Family that they were not drafted into the service hitherto? Was it due to their exclusiveness?

The only work of a productive nature which is budgetted for is the Harbour Works. If our brethren outside the States fail in their endeavour to gain Dominion Status, it cannot be confidently said who will reap the benefit of what we sow yonder. The Comptroller of Accounts had said that a considerable amount was sunk in the Harbour. I would that it were not borne to unfathomed caves.

Sir, there will soon be some change of status either for good or for evil for the States. Our Government may have contributed something towards it. They have surely expended some money by way of vakil's fee, etc., out of what they have been able to bring out from the people. And they have not taken the people of the State into their confidence. It is their colossal ignorance of the attitude of mind of the people at the present time that emboldens them to commit the grave blunder of brushing aside as insignificant whatever little of public thought that had oozed out to them.

Sir, it is high time for the Government to consider the situation in and around and put forth a policy of reconciliation

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

to rally round their flag the stalwarts of His Highness' subjects to show a bold face to the outside world.

Sir, I have done. Kindly convey the loyal felicitation of my constituents and of myself to His Highness the Maharaja.

May His Highness live long!

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Mr. President, Sir, Though there is an atmosphere of democracy pervading the whole world at present, and mother India, of which the Indian States are component parts, is striving to get her birthright of self-Government, the prospect of the coming in of responsible Government in our State appears to be as far as ever. The only opportunity, if opportunity it be, that the subjects of this State have to give vent to their feelings in respect of the present system of Government, is only that afforded by the annual general discussion of the budget. After all, the scope of our discussion is very limited. But I shall be wanting in my duty to myself and to my constituency, if I do not make the best use of the opportunity available. I need hardly point out that this is not a budget in the preparation of which the representatives of the people had any hand. It is a budget prepared by the bureaucracy, pure and simple. And our privileges at present are confined only to destructive criticisms of the budget. But I shall try to make my criticisms a little constructive.

The Head of the Administration and his astute lieutenant, the Finance Member, no doubt deserve to be congratulated for their success in hoarding up a large surplus balance to the credit of the State. But, do the subjects of Cochin deserve to be congratulated on their Government having a large surplus budget? It is only now less than a crore by 10 lakhs and it will surely, under the guidance of you, Sir, with instinct for financial development and saving, amount to more than a crore by this time next year.

It will not be out of place if, in this connection, I bring to the notice of this House the following pregnant passages from a speech delivered by the great politician, Mr. Chintamani, as President of the Indian State People's Conference held in Bombay on the 25th and 26th May last:—"During the last ten years or fifteen the revenues of not a few States have shown an enormous increase, and this is cited as evidence of good Government. But it has to be shown how this increase has been obtained. Has there been a proportionate improvement in the economic condition of the people? What is their average annual income, what is the cost of living, and what is the incidence of taxation?"

The revenue of our State has risen from 63 lakhs in 1095 to 86 lakhs according to the budget estimate of 1105. Has the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

economic condition and the prosperity of the Cochin subjects increased in proportion to this increase in revenue? Have the earning capacity and the standard of living of an ordinary labourer increased substantially? Has the attention of the Government been drawn to this aspect of the question? Does fresh labour pour into the State or emigrate from it to other places? Can the Government point out to any specific action on their part (not mere issue of orders and budgetting of grants with subsequent lapses) to improve the economic condition of the agricultural population? I do hope that my friends on the official bloc, to whom His Highness our Gracious Sovereign has estrusted the welfare of his subjects, will, in their replies, answer my questions. The next point to which I would invite the attention of the House is the directions in which the revenues have increased. There is very little increase so to speak in land revenue. It is the drink or excise revenue that saps the vitality of the lower classes of His Highness' subjects that has increased from 1095 from ten lakhs to nearly 17 lakhs in 1104. The other source of phenomenal increase in revenue is Customs that has risen from 1,28,954 in 1095 to nearly 15 lakhs in 1104 or by more than 10 times. This, as the House is aware, is the result of the fiscal policy of the British Government which cannot be described in better terms than those in para 82 of the Butler Committee report. "In the year 1921 and 22, the Maritime Customs were greatly raised under many heads, and later on a policy of discriminating protection was adopted in British India with the result that the revenue from Maritime Customs has risen from some five to nearly fifty crores of rupees. The States were not consulted in regard to this policy. The majority of them derive no benefit from protection and their subjects have to pay the enhanced price on imported goods, in effect a double customs duty, their taxable capacity being reduced to the extent of the maritime duty."

I would ask to what extent has our Government extended the benefit of this large increase of revenue to the subjects of the State who consume a substantial portion of the imported goods whereby they are indirectly taxed. It cannot be that a portion of this revenue is utilised for nation building purposes which I shall show presently. The next source of increase of revenue is Railway which has risen from 9 and odd to such a large figure as fourteen lakhs. If the figures are carefully analysed, it would be seen that the surpluses of 1103 and 1104 were brought about by large increases in the revenues under Customs and Railways.

It is indeed a matter of great pain to me to point out that only very very small portions of the revenue are spent on

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

1. development of Irrigation, 2. development of Agriculture, 3. spread of Co-operative Movement, 4. development of Industries, 5. Rural Sanitation, 6. Primary Education of the masses and 7. Uplift of the Depressed Classes.

Now, Sir, irrigation is a subject with which I have troubled this House very often. Last year Government showed their sympathy with irrigation by making a lump provision of one lakh of rupees. What has become of that amount? I will be excused if I say that the sympathy began and ended with the budget provision. How has irrigation been handled in this year's budget? I should say ditto. While budgetting for a revenue of 86 lakhs, irrigation gets a paltry grant of 1,54,854 rupees under Public Works and a drop of 28,544 under Panchayats, both making up 1,83,398 rupees which is only less than 2½ per cent. It has to be remembered that this includes even the charges of annual maintenance and expenses of the irrigation works and the allotment for original works is only 1,24,370 rupees. Can anything be more apathetic in handling a subject with which the agricultural population of the State is chiefly concerned? Even in regard to this small allotment of Rs. 1,24,000, is there any guarantee that the works provided for in the budget will be carried out in the year itself.

The appendix in the budget gives but very meagre details of the works proposed. Though as many as 23 works are provided in the budget, there is sanctioned estimate for only one item, No. 279, investigation of irrigational schemes in the State. I trust that the Member for Public Works will give more details in his explanation. The necessity for spending this year Rs. 14,000 for investigation also has to be explained. It is not understood why no provision is made for works provided in the previous years' budgets but not carried out. What has become of the Kali *thodu* allotment in last year's budget? What has become of the Nandikkara *chira* allotment? Is the canal from Muriyad to Kakkaturuthy more important and urgent than Nandikara *chira* and Kalithodu?

Thougth the Council passed a resolution unanimously to the effect that demonstrative and experimental farms should be opened in all Taluks and vigorous propaganda works in the way of dissemination of knowledge of improved methods of agriculture should be made, there is no indication at all in the budget estimate of any attempt towards giving effect to the resolution. The allotment for Agriculture is Rs. 1,17,300 which comes to only over 1 per cent. Similarly the allotment for Co-operation Rs. 16,800, is insignificantly small. No indication is seen in the budget estimate of any attempt on the part of Government to undertake a vigorous policy of industrial development. Apparently the

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Government have contented themselves with continuing the present inefficient system of running industrial schools. Will the Member in charge of Industries be pleased to inform the House to what extent the industries of the State have developed by these apologies for Industrial Schools and how far has the prosperity of those engaged in Industries increased? Coming to rural sanitation, I have to narrate the same story. While everywhere in India rural re-construction is proceeding vigorously, we find in our budget estimate a small grant of Rs. 28,806 for rural sanitation in the budget account No. 23 and a yet smaller sum of Rs. 15,900 under Panchayats No. 2. Are His Highness' subjects living in the rural areas entitled to get only an insignificant allotment of 44,000 rupees of a total revenue of 86 lakhs? Are not these people contributing a major portion of the revenue under Land Revenue and Abkari? Has the attention of the Protector of the Depressed Classes been drawn to the housing condition of the poor in the State? Is he satisfied that a provision of a few *Bhajana mutts* alone will improve their lot?

Credit is always taken by the Government and the Educational Department for the progress made in the education of the masses. After all, what is the amount spent? 5·65 lakhs for boys and 1·53 lakhs for girls or 7 lakhs. Though this allotment gives a better percentage than those allotted for allied services, the fact remains that it forms but a small portion of the revenue under Abkari. It can be easily demonstrated that the pace of increase under drink revenue has been more rapid than the progress of primary education. There is no use of robbing Peter to pay Paul. If there is any direction by which the result of progress in primary education can be made more manifest, it is the eradication of the drink evil. Has it so resulted? Similarly the activities of the Educational Department in the direction of the uplift of the Depressed Classes are taken as laurels of the administration. There is an allotment of Rs. 84,800 for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. Of this the major portion, Rs. 64,942, is taken by the educational institutions. This is merely a transfer from the main 'head education' to the new head. Only one is tempted to ask whether the lot of the Depressed Classes has improved in any way by the nature of the education given to their children Is the education imparted in the schools consistent with their occupation and modes of living? Are the children of agricultural labourers taught practical agriculture by taking them to the fields? Are any arrangements made to feed them during the day? Is it not possible for the Government to make a larger allotment under this head and arrange for feeding them also as they do in other

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

countries of the world, e. g., Ireland and New Zealand, where children of the labourers are educated and maintained by the State?

Sir, the year 1099 witnessed the unprecedented flood which affected the villages of my constituency to a greater extent, and even though Government was promising to solve this flood problem by protective works for the last five years, nothing has been done, and the people of my constituency had to endure all the troubles and anxieties this year also due to heavy rains. The Government has admitted on the floor of this House on many occasions that hundreds of *desams* in my constituency have no direct connection with roads and many *desams* suffer for want of small bridges. How is the costly road from Aripalam to Madilakam more important than the unfinished road from Kodakara to Vallikolangara or the road from Kallur to Kallai? Nothing has been done to relieve the distress of the poor. In spite of the increased revenues of the State the Government is indifferent to find funds for useful items of expenditure in rural areas.

From the above details it is clear that the Finance Member's observations in the concluding paragraph of his yesterday's speech, that funds are not available to meet the intensity of the demands and that the Government also feel as strongly as the Members on this side, only exhibit the character of the Government in that they want only to shed crocodile tears at the miseries of the people. These observations are not made in any carping of criticism. Seeing that the Government is for the people though not at present by the people, I have only done my duty in advocating to the House a few of the improvements to be effected in the administration.

In Cochin at present, Sir, we have a venerable Maharaja who has endeared Himself to His subjects by His benevolence and benificence, a Diwan born and bred up in the country, grown grey in the service, in whose hands the finances of the country are safe, an experienced doctor who is only about 65 or 66 but who has not yet lost his vigour and who is looking after the medical relief of the people, a veteran educationist in the person of our venerable Director who has also taken up the responsibility of protecting the Depressed Classes, a Revenue Officer in the person of the present Diwan Peishkar who has had considerable experience as a Judge and a lawyer; an indefatigable financial adviser to the Government in the person of our esteemed Comptroller of Accounts who has had his training in Dublin and London; a loyal Sarvadhi attached to His Highness the Maharaja, a young and energetic Chief Engineer, the son of His Highness and an equally young and

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

energetic Secretary to the Diwan in the person of a member of the Royal House and son-in-law of His Highness, the State is bound to prosper under such a combination, a combination that augurs well for the future prosperity of the State which I pray Providence and its goodness will allow to continue for a long time to come. If, under such favourable combination of circumstances, these problems cannot be solved, I do not believe there is any salvation for the poor people of Cochin in the near future.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Let me take this opportunity of welcoming our Royal recruit to this Council. I have no doubt that he will be a shining light to this House. We meet again to discuss the next year's budget. We have been in the habit to express our advice and our criticism for the consideration of our wise Government. But a question has arisen whether it is worth anybody's while to continue to advise and criticise this Government of ours—whether the treatment accorded by the Government to the decisions of this House justifies our hoping that such advice and criticism could be of any use. I do not pretend to be more sanguine than the rest of the Hon'ble Members of this House and, Sir, I shall take this opportunity of saying a few words about the working of our Legislative Council instead. I feel sure that the entire non-official section of Members of this House as well as the whole public of the State will agree with what I am about to say in this connection.

The Legislative Council of Cochin was introduced and declared open by His Highness our beloved Maharaja in Meenam 1100. That is four years ago. His Highness was kind enough to say, *inter alia*, at the opening ceremony:—"It has been my earnest desire to associate my people in an increasing measure with the Government of the State and I feel happy that that desire has this day been fulfilled.

"The high standard of culture of my people and their traditional and deep sense of loyalty and devotion to their ruler have actuated me in investing the Council from the very beginning with wide powers. It is my fervent hope that the representatives of my people and the officers of my Government will work in complete unison, with mutual trust, sympathy and co-operation."

His Highness' Diwan, Rao Bahadur P. Narayana Menon, I. S. O., a veteran from the Madras Services, said on the same occasion:—

"The powers given you are very wide indeed. You will have the privilege of being consulted on all matters of public interest. You may ask questions relating to all matters of public

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

interest. You will be at liberty to place your well considered views before the Government by moving resolutions. And the most vital of all administrative functions, namely, the control of the finances will be practically in your hands."

This Council, Sir, started under such happy and hopeful auspices. The cultured people of Cochin were to get, through the medium of this Council, a powerful if not a controlling voice in the administration of the State, that is to say, in their own affairs. The subjects' bosoms naturally swelled with pride and gratitude at the generous, liberal gesture. A new era of peace and prosperity was dawning, so the people thought, fondly, as it turned out. The steady retrogressive policy adopted by the Government since has succeeded in sweeping away all hope and in creating an atmosphere of suspicion and general dissatisfaction. How this was effected, how in fact what was thought to be a really bold attempt at democratising the administration of the State has been whittled down to what it now has descended to be—the Council an expensive joke, would be interesting history, if it were not tragic.

Immediately after the inauguration of the Council Mr. Narayana Menon left the State service and was succeeded by the present incumbent. He came to grips almost immediately with the first Council and his dual position of Diwan-President naturally created very awkward situations. The fact that the President of the Council was the Diwan of the State often put the latter in false positions. Naturally, his duty, as the President of the Council, often collided with his policy as Diwan. The Councillors protested, both in Council and outside. What the Councillors thought were arbitrary rulings from the Chair, rulings thought to be coloured on account of the Diwan-Presidency, were loudly protested against and even 'walk-outs' were tried. Public meetings were held and a memorial was submitted to His Highness, our Maharaja.

In the meantime, the general policy adopted by the Government towards the Council helped to fan the agitation and discontent. The decisions of the Council were not given the importance they deserved. Resolutions were either negatived or ignored, financial cuts were ruthlessly restored; laws passed were not promulgated; questions of Members were either shelved or inadequately answered—in fact, the general course of action by the Government appeared to indicate that the Government considered the Council as a necessary evil rather than as a source of help and strength. The Members of the first Council dispersed discontented—discontented alike at the inelasticity of the Council constitution and the ruthless and arbitrary Government interpretation thereof. What were really safety provisions,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

introduced and intended to be used only for emergencies, were used, generally without any justification, for nullifying the decisions of the Council. The most conspicuous abuse of the provisions of the Council was in regard to finance. What was intended to be "practical control of finances", as declared by Diwan Mr. Narayana Menon, became the mere travesty thereof. If the Council carried cuts, unanimously or otherwise, the Government restored them as a matter of course. If the Council recommended that a certain course should be adopted, just the opposite one was followed, after the courtesy of a paragraph in the Government Gazette. The Council in fact became a meaningless and expensive anomaly.

President.—Are you referring to substantial cuts?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Yes, Sir.

President.—In substantial cuts, you see, the Government only restored such of them which were absolutely necessary and such cut motions were very few.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—If you want instances, I shall quote them. I shall give an instance of a cut motion which was accepted by Government and subsequently restored. I am referring to the five thousand rupees cut under the bell-metal affair.

President.—I asked my Secretary to examine these cuts and only this amount of Rs. 20,000 was brought to my notice.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—There was one cut in connection with the Girls' High School and another cut in connection with the paying ward and then there was the bell-metal affair of Rs. 5,000 and odd which the Council resolved should be collected from the officer who was responsbile for the loss which was once accepted by the Government and then restored.

President.—That has not been restored at all. It will come again for discussion.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—That is just the thing that I am objecting.

President.—We want to convince the Council and we are going to place fresh facts before the Council so that the Council may reconsider its decision. We have not restored the cut. There were only 2 such cases. One is about that Rs. 20,000 and another about the Girls' High School.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—And there is the last one which appeared to me the most glaring, that is about the bell-metal affair. The Government of that time accepted the cut.

President.—No, never. It is because we do not want to certify and because it was understood that facts were not properly placed before the Council that it was again brought forward in the next year's budget.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—There are other substantial cuts also restored, namely, the paying wards, for instance.

President.—For the paying wards 40,000 and odd was budgetted by the Government and the Council sanctioned only 20,000. We accepted that. There was no certification at all. Except this 20,000 rupees that was restored during the Diwanship of Mr. Damodara Menon, and the amount for the Girls' High School which I restored, there was no other certification at all.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—To my mind there are at least 4 substantial cuts restored. This Council objected, for instance, to the costly building like the present office of the Chief Medical Officer.

President—That is the 20,000 I alluded to.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Well, Sir. As we go on with the discussion, we shall give more elaborate detail and a tabular statement if you want. I have looked into this matter and that is why I say this. I thought my 15 minutes will not allow me to go in detail over these matters.

The second (the present) Council also started under more or less the same conditions. The Members, however, would not take matters lying down. They, the vast majority of them, formed themselves into a strong Party and tried their best to see if they could get the Government to improve matters. So far, it must regretfully be stated, their efforts have not met with any better success. If anything, the attitude of the Government towards the Council has become more reactionary. During the last 12 months, the Government has dealt with the decisions of the Council in a manner unheard of in connection with such Councils anywhere. Almost all the resolutions passed by the Council have been either turned down or ignored; the Council has been in a word treated with scant regard. The only perceivable improvement was towards the close of the current year, in the matter of answers to questions. While appreciating the latter, I must say that, in all other matters, the Government's policy is definitely more retrogressive.

The Government's action has thus nullified the effect of the Council. The administration is being carried on as if the Council did not exist, as if the decisions of the Council were of no effect. It must be remembered here that the constitution of our Council is the cast-off constitution of long since obsolete British Councils. In British India, where the present Councils are constituted under very much more democratic constitutions, the clamour or the extension of rights has been so insistentthat the Government is on the eve of introducing far-reaching reforms there. We read

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

only a few days ago that the Nair Committee of the Central Indian Legislature has reported that full responsible Government should be granted except as regards defence, Native States and foreign relations. And yet where are we in Cochin? Have we got the semblance even of any responsible Government here in Cochin? Is there any real difference between us and the British Indian people to justify such a profound difference in treatment? Are we not really a head of most parts of British India in matters of education, political consciousness and other matters that have bearing on the fitness of a people to govern themselves? Is it for want of a more decided and loud clamour that our rights are not recognised? Why should our very docility be taken advantage of to treat us in this contemptuous fashion? Sir, Governments far far bigger, far more puissant than ours, have often discovered, when too late, that it was sheer folly to have taken advantage of such conditions of quiescence to continue to hold the people in political thraldom. Political repression is the most suicidal act of folly that a Government can commit (*hear, hear*). Sir, do you not know that not one of the numerous autocracies of the world survived the shock of the late world war? Do you not know that, if the British Empire came out of the war with, if anything, added glory, it was due entirely to the wise democratic institutions of that Empire? (*Hear, hear.*) If current history, any history in fact, has one outstanding lesson to teach, it is that power kept by Governments autocratically without regard to the clamours and desires of the ruled has invariably crumbled, to the humiliation and discomfiture of the Governments themselves. History is a sure source of wisdom. It has always taught that it is positively unwise to strain the faith and hope of the ruled. Wise Governments anticipate the wishes of their people and take them more and more into partnership in the administration. Wise ministers consider it their imperative duty to advise their masters to act in concert with the wishes of the people. If our Government has not the clarity of vision to see facts, have they not been advised by the Paramount Power that they should democratise the institutions of the State? Have not, in fact, the conference of Indian rulers, over and over again, advised the Indian administrations to follow such a course? What was the 8th resolution passed at the recent conference of Indian rulers at Bombay? They pointed out that it would be positively dangerous not to open and extend the democratic institutions in Indian States. Do you want to compel the inhabitants of this loyal and law-abiding State to join in the cry of other States, the pitiful cry raised by them because they find it very difficult if not impossible to attain anything better politically by continuing as subjects of Native States?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

May I mention here with all respect that there is a feeling abroad in this little State of ours that the time has come for the Members of this House to throw off their indifference and do something in the matter. The Government has been taxing the patience of the people to the limit. The Government seems to think that they can ignore the wishes of the people. The public strongly resent this attitude. Where a wise Government would have readily granted the people their political rights, ours have been steadily whittling down what little the people have. We are, however, Sir, not in despair. Methods of constitutional agitation are not unknown to us nor are we averse to using them. *Vox populi* is *vox Dei*. Let not the Government ever forget that.

I do not propose this time to go into the various heads of administration because I firmly believe that in the absence of democratic institutions no real good Government can be had. We shall try to get real democratic institutions, try as a people can always try, even as many people have tried and got. We, many of us, who would and did wait for better things have waited in vain. When we asked for bread we were given stone. We are not a set of infants to be spoon-fed as the Government seems to think nor is this Council such an infant as to deserve the high compliment given it by the Diwan in his recent Proceedings published in the Gazette. No Government in this 20th century of Grace, this century of intellectual emancipation and political freedom, can afford to continue or repeat political institutions that thrived under the hot-house conditions of the middle ages. Repression is as foolish to-day as it is unwise. Repression succeeds only in one thing—the sure and steady discomfiture of the repressors themselves. Sir, you might have heard of patients with large septic carbuncles on their backs refusing to get them opened either on account of nervousness or fear. You might have also heard what generally happened to such patients. Their constitution holds, against the steady poison, for a little time. The inevitable then happens. The carbuncle bursts, the poison spreads and the patient pays forfeit —with his life. Even more foolish, Sir, is the political patient who would not or care not to open his political carbuncles. He invites doctors when too late to be told that his case is beyond repair.

Sir, does our Government know that there was and there still is, in this House, as well as in the little State of ours, a fairly large section of opinion that would have waited any length of time for better and more democratic institutions if only the actions of the Government gave them ground to hope that matters were improving, if slowly, even very slowly? They would

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

have accepted small doses, even homeopathic doses, and waited. They would have done anything in fact to allow a steady process of evolution working itself out. They steadily opposed all attempts at forcing the hands of the Government. They waited, waited in vain. Their very moderation was construed by the authorities as weakness; their wisdom construed as want of resource. Nor is our Government alone in pursuing such a policy. For the first 17 centuries of this era of Grace Governments generally followed this foolish course. Some Governments do still follow such a policy. All weak and foolish individuals do follow the same policy. That may be justification enough for our Government to continue to follow that policy. But, Sir, will it be justification enough for the people of this country, and for us, their representatives, to allow the Government fondly to follow that policy of suicide?

Our benign Maharaja gave us an instalment of representative institutions. Our Maharaja's wise Government converted that into 'representative institutions upon the terms that the voice of the representatives of the people shall be systematically ignored'. For this hybrid system that the Government is working out, a system which pretends to be what it is not and is not what it pretends to be, a system which cannot be resolutely autocratic or frankly popular, for this half-hearted compromise, there is inevitably reserved the inexorable sentence which history shows must fall on every form of political imposture.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, this session will be a memorable session in the annals of Cochin History, because we have already had sufficient indications expressed forth in this House to show what the attitude the Government has forced the representatives of the people to take in this House during this session. You might have seen, Sir, that we have been very fair indeed with you, in giving publication to a letter that I circulated amongst my friends, the non-official Members of this House, because we do not thrive in secrecy. We thrive under the publicity which the Government said they have always tried to give. We wanted to show you, Sir, by publication in the paper "Satyanadam" of Saturday before last, of the attitude we are going to assume in order to see what the response of the Government would be in the meanwhile.

Sir, I must join my friends who have expressed upon the whittling down of the powers of this House. Much of what I intended to speak has been taken out of my mouth by my friend from the Trippunittura Constituency and I shall not cover the same ground. But one thing I want to show you, and that is, His Highness, when He opened this Council, expected, in spite of the limitations imposed by the Act upon the working

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

of this Council, that it would be so worked that the limitations imposed would hardly be felt at all. But, Sir, in the working of this Institution, it has unfolded itself to us, that the limitations have been made great fetters upon our feet and have crushed us within them, as far as possible, at the hands of the bureaucratic Government of to-day. Sir, what shall I say upon the reluctance to reforms, that has been noticed in the course of the last four years? We have pressed upon your attention to reform, and move forward in consonance with the clatter, and with the admitted advance, of the people of Cochin. But what have you done? You have receded backwards. Your desire is to restrict the activities of this Council in place of widening its powers, as His Highness wished, and that is patent to-day to any casual observer here. You have widened the gulf between the dying bureaucracy and the budding popular sentiments of this House. I say "dying bureaucracy" because the days of the bureaucracy in India are numbered, and in Cochin it is certainly numbered, and, therefore, Sir, it was time that you should have harmonised the two halves. Instead of that, you have estranged us. The demand for a constitution, such as we tabled in this House and handed over to the Diwan in this Council on the 26th July 1926, remains a document shelved in the Huzur or wherever it is kept. No response of any kind to it has come forth although three full years have passed by and not even a question on it has been allowed in this House. What does that attitude show? It shows that we are not even entitled to ask for reforms. Sir, in the other Councils in India reforms have been tabled, pressed, and pressed home to the attention of the Government, and here also I find no provision of any kind which forbids us from pressing upon your attention the need for reform. Upon the one provision—that the provisions of this Regulation cannot be discussed in this House—the Government have been bombarding us and have entrenched themselves under their restrictive provisions, often sally forth with their worn-out weapon, saying that the provisions of this Regulation will be affected, if any reforms are talked over in this House. That is the attitude that you have assumed. Entrenched as you are with the restrictive provisions, and buckled with power, you have been using all the safety powers for the carrying on of the ordinary administration of the country. Sir, the demand for the bifurcation of the President and the Diwan has been explicitly made, and there has been absolutely no response. The demand for the separation of the services from the Legislature, so very necessary for the harmonious progress of the country and the betterment of the land, has been pressed by us, but with no response. To-day the Hon'ble Member for Chittur (Rural)

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

has been telling us, in congratulating our Prince Rama Varmha Tampuran, that the association of the Prince with the ordinary administration of the country may, by scathing criticisms, embarass and embitter the feelings between the people and their Royal House. I do not agree with him at all, because I know that the Prince's outlook is different. But one thing I have been harping upon, with some amount of sentiment, that, when you put officers here who have to carry on the every-day administration of the country, and when we offer scathing criticisms and have to transact business with them, if they carry with them that feeling into the working of the administration, it may not be conducive to the best interests of the land ; and that is the reason why we urge the *separation of the services from the Legislature.*

Sir, the powers of certification, upon which there have been differences of opinion, have been used in a manner in which they have not been used in the sister State of Travancore. During the 8 years of administration in Travancore with a Legislative Council not a single rupee was ever certified by the Diwan of Travancore.

President.—In one case there was a certificate.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, at page 12 of the Administration Report for 1103 published this year, a copy of which has been presented to me by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore in advance, it is stated "the power of certification of budget demands refused or reduced by the Council and of Legislative measures thrown out or altered is reserved. But so far the Government have had no occasion to have recourse to this power". That is from the official report.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Why ?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Because the Government there respected the opinion of their Legislative Councils. One other Government took pride in the working of this kind of popular institutions in the beginning of democratic days in India and that was the Government of Bombay, which said, in effect, "we are given a constitution towards a full democratic constitution, and in working this diarchy, I have kept that point in view, and I have not gone on a single matter against the wishes expressed in the Legislative Council. I never restored a cut either"; and I leave it to you all to see whether you can put your hands upon your breast and say the same thing for yourselves.

Again, Sir, in the framing of the budget, what shall I say ? The budget seems to be nothing but a stereotyped business. Even the budget heads are all ever kept ready for printing any

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

number of copies at any part of the year. It is never even recast, and you know, Sir, that I have expressed the feeling that the Finance Member, so mis-called here, has really nothing to do with the finances of the State; and I also gave vent to the feeling that he is so very unwilling to travel beyond the *mamul* established so far. Even to give a little more money to the Government by way of receipts and change the figures that have been put down in the budget was so very difficult, as you know, and but for your personal intervention, I do not know whether he would have even agreed even to add to the receipts of the Government!

I pass on from there, Sir, to one or two other items, that is, the absolute necessity that has arisen for the Legislature to have an executive given to it, and which will be responsible td the country and to the Legislative Council first. Without an Executive responsible to the Legislature, whatever experiment you may try in the art of popular Government, I prophesy, will be an utter and ignoble failure. There can be no forward march either in the prosperity or in the progress or even in the political ideas of the people, unless and until you give the people an Executive that is responsible to the Legislature. You have been characterising us as irresponsible. I agree, Sir. We have no responsibility towards any one except to our own conscience and to God.

President.—Nobody characterised you as irresponsible.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Well, Hon'ble Members on the other side said we are offering irresponsible criticisms. They said that last time and I controverted that. Apart from that, I call you absolutely irresponsible. To whom are you responsible to-day? You come here and we are offering you criticisms. We are your critics and we are your judges, and if we pronounce judgment and if the judgment is not binding upon you, to whom are you responsible? You turn and say 'we are responsible to our master". Who is your master? If the people of the land, who pay you out of the taxes that they contribute to the coffers of the treasury of the land, are not your masters, who are your masters? I may say, Sir, that His Highness the Maharaja's boast has been that He serves His people. In India, kingship has been nothing but the power of the community vested in the Maharaja for the good of the community but we are now having experiments in constitutional Government. In old India the king was the part of Government itself. In the coming India, the king must become like the constitutional king of England. He must stand outside politics. He will be sacrosanct and those who serve the people will be

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the Government, and if the Government is not responsible to the governed, then whatever kind of institution you may bring into existence will be an absolute failure in the art of governing any people anywhere now-a-days.

Now I pass on to the Departments. Anappara (*laughter*) brings out laughter in this House. It is a wilderness, and to take away our children into the wild forests infested with Malaria and with scarcity of water will be a sheer folly and waste of public money. There has been no demand from the people that I know of to shift the College from the beautiful situation in which it is here in Ernakulam to the rocks of Anappara so far distant, and away from the buzzing crowd, in the nearness of the forest. There has been no demand from the people and why should the Government take away this beautifully situated College to the far-off corner like that, without any demand from the people? I ask that question again and again and I say that it is the most unfit place which will carry with it a stigma of an abandoned leper asylum being converted into a College.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—It never was.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—It was intended for it.

Again, Sir, upon the question of Harbour and Railway matters, my friend from Vellarapilly has amply dwelt upon the Harbour. It is exploitation of this land, and if we are to be a party to it, we must do it with our eyes wide open. In spite of the demands made in this House, Government have not thought it fit to nominate a single non-official Member of this House to the Board of Conservancy, that is going on the other side. Perhaps we cannot discuss those matters in this House. Yet, you could have shown us the courtesy of sending at least one non-official Member of this Council, so that the people may also have some knowledge about it. You have got two officers who sit here as members of that Board and why not you send one non-official from this place unto that Board instead of sending somebody else there?

President.—The next nomination comes in November next.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I hope at least you will remember this then.

Again, Sir, regarding Railway extension, the line has to go through Chittur and Tattamangalam and other places to connect Cochin with the hinterland. Much have I heard by way of dissatisfaction as to the alignment and the location of stations when I visited Chittur, last week, but I cannot table anything in this House because it is a forbidden subject. 'Restrictions upon such matters must be removed, if you want a happy working of this Council. Again, Sir, the question of prohibition and

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

local option have not been tackled and the increase of the vicious revenue is a characteristic feature of this year's budget. There is no use our protesting against it—we know we are helpless—unless you accept the principle of prohibition.

President.—You may continue after lunch.

The Council rose for lunch at 2 p. m. and met again at 3 p. m. with the Deputy President in the Chair.

Deputy President.—Mr. Salem, you can proceed.

Mr. A. B Salem.—Sir, as regards education, I would say that the policy of expansion of education that is going on in the State is not sufficient. We have to show to the world that we have understood the necessity of giving every child in the State a knowledge of the three R's. Compulsory education is absolutely necessary even in the most civilised State to show its civilisation itself. England gives all her children education up to the secondary standard, a compulsory education in order to show to the world that they taboo illiteracy in their land. In the same way, Cochin to be in the forefront of the States in India, you must adopt a policy of compulsory education in spite of the wide expansion of primary education already exisiting in the State, so that the stigma will no more attach to us that we allow our people to have education or not, according to their sweet will and pleasure. We should compel every child to get knowledge and that is the policy that I should like to see the Darbar adopts.

Then, Sir, as regards the removal of untouchability. There also, I would say, with my friends of the backward communities that are present here, to issue a Proclamation that we have done with untouchability though we may not remove untouchability by that step alone. Still it will be a great step forwards, for both sides of the Hindu population.

Then, Sir, I urge upon the Government the necessity of prohibition, local option and then to be away with the increased receipts in ganja, opium, arrack and toddy.

And, Sir, I have to say a few words regarding rural reconstruction. During the last Budget Session, we carried a resolution in this House, and over one year the Government has been sitting upon that resolution. I know some movements have been going on. But the movements began very long ago indeed, and nothing has come out of the movement. In a vital matter like the reconstruction of the villages of Cochin, from which the Government get their sap to carry on the administration, what can I say, as regards the apathy or the dilatoriness of the Government in these matters that are essential for the welfare of the people? Our only anxiety is to feed our people

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

well, clothe our people well, and house our people well, and in these prime necessities of life, we like the Government to say what have they done to change their mode of administration, to provide facilities for these. Instead of existing simply for the sake of gathering a certain amount of revenue and keeping law and order in the State, I like to ask them what have they done to give the people these three comforts. It is true that we give them education, it is true that we give them roads and communications, it is true that we do many other things to our people, and we are actuated certainly to do good unto the people. But practically what policy do you adopt to do away with unemployment, to find employment to the people, to better feed the people, to better clothe them and to better house them? It is to these matters that we want the attention of the Government to be drawn. I have no hesitation in saying, situated as the Government of Cochin is in a system that will not allow them any elasticity whatsoever, they stand only to receive criticisms and condemnations in this House if they continue under the present system. I, therefore, urge upon the Government, the immediate necessity, and it is to bring that immediate necessity home to the Government that I refer to the opening speech of His Highness Himself. It was stated that we are given a majority to make our voice prevail. Our voice has not been prevailing so far and we shall use our majority to make our voice prevail. The proportion of non-officials to official Members as 2 to 1 was given, so that, in all the Council's deliberation, the popular voice might predominate. Now, Sir, popular voice has not only not been predominating, but it is not even heard and even if it is heard it was simply turned down. We want to show by our action in the present session that we are a united body, that we want to unite and in spite of apples of discord by way of caste questions, tanks, wells, there is still a sane element in this House, that will rise to the occasion and work in unison, mutual sympathy, trust and confidence to bring to the Government the absolute necessity of enhancing the usefulness of this House and to bring Responsible Government more for the good of the Government as well as the country. I have done.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Sir, the increase of revenue in the budget is no doubt a matter for congratulation. In the budget of 1104 the revised estimate was 77 and odd lakhs but we find that we have been able to realise more than 10 lakhs over the estimated revenue and for 1105 we anticipate a revenue of about 86 lakhs of rupees. This is indeed a matter for gratification; and by the improvement of the Harbour as well as the conversion of the Railway

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

into broad-gauge, we can expect in course of time an increase year after year. But, in considering the budget which has been placed before us, the chief question that arises is whether the application of the revenue of the State is proper, whether the amounts which have been collected from the citizens are being properly utilised. That is the important question that now arises for consideration. In this connection we have first of all to consider whether all the necessary items of expenditure have been provided for in the budegt and secondly whether any money is being spent unnecessarily and then thirdly what is the policy underlying the action of the Government in allotting amounts for specific works for 1105. The policy of the Government is being shaped from time to time by the officers in charge of the several Departments. This policy has to be varied and improved upon year after year in view of the resolutions of this Council and in view of public criticism. We have to see whether the Government has in any way deviated from its previous policy, whether it has in any way improved. On going carefully through the budget I find there is absolutely no improvement from the previous years. The budget is not a new one. It is the same thing, perhaps with larger amounts allotted for several items of expenditure. We find absolutely no new policy enunciated. Now let me go through the several Departments in order to see whether the Government has in any way changed its policy with regard to any Department and whether it has considered the views of this Council with respect to any Department.

First I shall take the Education Department which is spending a major portion of the revenues of the State. The present system of education has been denounced as defective in several respects. It has been the chief cause of unemployment. The system of education has been at fault and not education itself. What is the sort of education that we should give to our youth has been engaging the attention not only of our State, but it has become an all-India problem; and because of this unemployment communal jealousy and discontent has been the result. We have got a good number of educated young men with absolutely nothing to do. They have been disqualified from pursuing every other profession, agriculture, trade and others. Every one looks up to Government employment which the Government is unable to provide them with. No Government can provide every educated man with Government employment. Under these circumstances, the system of education given to the youth of the country has to be adapted to the changing conditions of life. We want more of technical and industrial education. This matter has been discussed in this Council very often but we don't find in the budget any provision for starting

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

any industrial school. No attempt has been made in this direction. Further the Industrial concerns already existing in the State are left to die away or the Government has been sleeping over these concerns; I mean the Potteries. It has been there for a number of years without doing any work. Now Government must come to the conclusion either to abolish the Potteries or to work it on more profitable lines. The Government must decide as early as possible.

We find, Sir, that the Government of Mysore and Hydrabad send students every year for foreign studies, either to England, America or Japan. It is a wholesome practice to be followed to send a student or two every year for foreign education. We don't find any provision in our budget for that purpose. Again, Sir, the present system of education is defective in several other respects. No moral or religious instruction is given to the students. Now it is in the student life that the mind of the student is developed. The whole character is shaped while he is a student. Moral and religious instruction at this stage is sure to shape his character in such a way that he will become a good citizen of the future. This is a matter of vital importance and it is high time that the Government should do something in this matter. There are several other important matters touching this Department which has formed the subject matter either of general discussion or resolutions in this Council but we don't find any deviation or change of policy of the Government as a result of those resolutions or discussions. In order to give the Director full scope for the development of this Department, my suggestion is that his charge over the 'uplift of the Depressed Classes' be handed over to the Assistant Protector of the Depressed Classes and the Director be left alone with the Education Department.

Coming to the Medical Department, we find, Sir, that the recommendations of the Special Finance Committee with respect to this Department have been sadly ignored by the Government for such a long time. The Special Finance Committee lays emphasis to the necessity of giving preference to the Ayurvedic mode of treatment by starting rural dispensaries and by the starting of vaidyasalas. Now this suggestion does not appear to have been accepted by the Government; otherwise we would have found some provision for that in the budget. The matter has been delayed so long and we are at the beginning of a new year. Now, if the Government has any intention to do anything with respect to that matter, we ought to have found something in the budget. I refer to para 107 of the Special Finance Committee's report wherein they say that more

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

encouragement should be given to the Ayurvedic or indigenous system of treatment. I don't think there will be any conflict of opinion in this matter. Therefore, my submission is that the Government has to give effect to the proposals as early as possible.

Deputy President.—There are fifteen or sixteen Ayurvedic dispensaries.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.— Fifteen or sixteen dispensaries will not be sufficient for this purpose. We can have an Ayurvedic College of Medicine, we can have a Director of Ayurveda and have the Ayurvedic Department taken away from the charge of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.— No, not under my Department.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.— Now it is in nobody's charge. My submission is that the Department is not receiving adequate attention at the hands of the Government. In Travancore they have an Ayurvedic Department, there is a Director of Ayurveda, there is an Ayurvedic College and there are Ayurvedic dispensaries in every village. Why should we not have similar institutions here? My submission is that sufficient attention is not being given to this subject by the Government. Again, Sir, there is a recommendation in the Special Finance Committee's report with respect to the encouragement of honorary surgeons for doing work in hospitals. The Special Finance Committee's report is the considered opinion of a non-official body but no effect appears to have been given to it thus far.

Coming to the Department of Public Works, I cannot refrain from saying that the condition of the roads in the State is something which is not very satisfactory indeed. You can feel the road as it were when you come from Travancore to Cochin You need not observe the boundary marks but if you are on a motor car you can just feel that you are in Cochin territory. So much of difference in the road.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Very smooth.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—I cannot say that. From my personal experience, it is quite the reverse.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Then you went in a bad car.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—The car was good as far as the Cochin territory but suddenly it became worse.

No definite policy is being followed by this Department with respect to the proportion of the allotment for original

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

works and for maintenance and this Department is very slow in providing funds for the necessary items of expenditure.

I shall briefly refer to the Excise Department also. The policy to be followed with respect to this Department has been almost accepted by the Government. It has been said times out of number that the policy of the Government is total prohibition. But when that ideal is expected to be realised has not been stated by the Government. Perhaps that policy is put off *ad infinitum*. We find in the budget of this year an additional expenditure of Rs. 4,600 over the amounts allotted for 1104. If the policy of the Government is towards prohibition, and if the Government is to follow that policy, my submission is that there is no justification for any additional allotment in this direction except it be for works of temperance. But we find that it is not for that purpose that this Rs. 4,600 is allotted.

Deputy President.—What is that for?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Rs. 4,600 has been allotted for opium and ganja.

Deputy President.—Is it for purchase?

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Yes, Sir.

Mr. C. V. Antony.—Only a small amount. There is a duty to be paid.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—The several resolutions with respect to the Excise Department have either been ignored by the Government or have been set at naught.

Another matter which, according to me, is very important is the local manufacture of stamps and stamp-papers. Now this matter has been before the Government nearly for the last two years. The local manufacture of stamps and stamp-papers as well as of Anchal stamps would bring a net saving of Rs. 38,000 to the Government annually. I refer, Sir, in this connection to paragraphs 143 and 147 of the Special Finance Committee's report. But, in spite of resolutions, in spite of the discussions in this Council as well as of the report of the Special Finance Committee, it appears that Government have done nothing in that matter.

Deputy President.—That is what they are considering.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Our Government can keep a thing under consideration for any length of time. With respect to the 2 pies stamps it is really worth notice what the Special Finance Committee says:.... "We would also recommend the adoption of the suggestion of the Anchal Superintendent to begin *at once* the printing of two pie stamps locally. The cost of their average annual supply now is Rs. 2,550 and their sale price Rs. 2,800, the net profit not exceeding Rs. 250 a year. These stamps are mainly used

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

for registered newspapers and magazines and instead of the stamps he suggests the introduction of two pie and four pie wrappers which can be printed at the Government Press at such a very small cost. It will enable the Department to earn about Rs. 2,500 a year, deducting all expenses." So the balance of Rs. 2,550 is going to Dickinson and Company whereas we make a profit only of Rs. 250 a year. We can as well allow our newspapers and journals to be sent without any stamp at all because we would be only losing Rs. 250 a year by this transaction. Now this was a suggestion put forward to be adopted immediately and that by the Anchal Superintendent himself. But we find that this also is being put off for no reason altogether.

Now, as I said in the beginning, this year's budget is only a repetition of the budgets of the previous years with additional allotments for the respective items. We find no progress, no deviation in the policy of the Government which has been consistently following a policy of drift. The suggestions which I have made are none of them new and all of them have been discussed in this Council and brought to the notice of the Government several times. The promise of associating the people with the Government for purposes of administration remains a promise unfulfilled. Under these circumstances, the establishment of a responsible Government in this State in which the Executive would be entirely responsible to the Legislature would be the only remedy. I believe that His Highness, who is the fountain of all that is good and noble, would grant us such a constitution in the near future.

Deputy President.—Anybody else desiring to say anything?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—ഈ മാമൂൽ അനുസരിച്ചുള്ള ബഡ്ജറിനെ മാമൂൽ അനുസരിച്ചു സ്തുതിക്കുകയൊ നിന്ദിക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടു ഫലമൊന്നുമില്ല. മുമ്പ് ഒരു മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞ പോലെ, നമ്മുടെ ഫിനാൻസ് മെമ്പറിനു ഒരു ഫൌണ്ടർസന്റെയൊ ഒരു ചാച്ചിലിന്റെയൊ സ്ഥാനം ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു ബഡ്ജറുസംബന്ധിച്ചു അദ്ദേഹത്തെ നിന്ദിച്ചിട്ടൊ സ്തുതിച്ചിട്ടൊ ഫലമൊന്നുമില്ല. ഇതു പതിവുപോലെയുള്ള അച്ചിൽ വാർത്തുവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നെ പറവാൻ തരമുള്ളു. ഭാവനാശക്തിയും ചൈതന്യവുമുള്ള ഒരു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപരമായ നയം പ്രതിഫലിപ്പിക്കുകിലെ ബഡ്ജറ് നന്നാകയുള്ളു. അല്ലാതെ കേവലം ഫിനാൻസുമെംബർമാത്രം വിചാരിച്ചാൽ ബഡ്ജറു നന്നാകയില്ല. ഇതു ഒരു ചൈതന്യമറ്റ മൃതമൂശയിൽവാർത്തു വിട്ട ബഡ്ജറാണ്.

ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഭാരമുള്ള വല്ല നികുതിയും കുറച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടൊ? ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഭാരമാകാതെ വരവുകൂട്ടുവാൻ വല്ല പുതിയ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

നാകുതിയും കണ്ടിട്ടുണ്ടൊ? ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കുതകുന്നതായ വല്ല പുതിയമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും തുറന്നിട്ടുണ്ടൊ എന്നെല്ലാമാണ് നോക്കേണ്ടത്. ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സംഗതികളെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈബഡ്ജറ്റ് നിരുപണംതന്നെ അഹിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നുവേണം പറയുവാൻ. ഗ്രാമസ്ഥന്മാർവഴി ഹജ്ജൂരിൽവന്ന സംഗതികളെല്ലാം ഒരു മാറ്റവുംകൂടാതെ ഒഴുകി കണ്ടോളരുടെ അടുക്കൽ എത്തി, അദ്ദേഹം തന്റെ മാമൂൽ മുദ്രയിൽ ഒഴിച്ചു ശുപ്പെട്ടത്തി നമുക്ക തന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതാണ് നമ്മുടെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ്.

രാജ്യത്തിൽ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മക്കു പരിഹാരം, നിർബന്ധവിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, മദ്യനിരോധനം, ഭൂമി കഴിയുന്നതും പരക്കെ വിതരണം ചെയ്യൽ—ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സംഗതികളിൽ നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു എന്തെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടൊ? യാതൊന്നുമില്ല. നിർബ്ബന്ധനയംകൂടാതെ നിർബ്ബന്ധഫലമുണ്ടാക്കാമെന്നു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ഡയറക്ടർ പറയും. പ്രോഹിബിഷൻ കൂടാതെ പ്രോഹിബിഷന്റെ ഫലമുണ്ടാക്കാമെന്നു എക്സൈസ്മെമ്പരും പറയും. ധനവാന്മാരെത്തന്നെ വീണ്ടും ധനവാന്മാരാക്കുത്തക്ക നിലയിലാണ് ദിവാൻ പേഷ്കാരുടെ ഭൂമിപതിപ്പുനയം.

ജനങ്ങളുടെ പണം പിരിച്ചെടുത്തു അതു ജനങ്ങൾക്കുതന്നെ ഉപകാരപ്രദമായനിലയിൽ തിരിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്ന നയംഇവിടെകാണുന്നെയില്ല. അതു ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ കിടന്നു നിലവിളിക്കുന്നതു നിങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടു അനുസരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു അധികാരമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ്. ഈ നിയമസഭ ലോർഡ് ഇർവിൻ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ശിശുക്കളുടെ കോട്ട്പോലെയുള്ള നിലവിട്ട് മരത്തിന്റെ തോൽപോലെ സ്വയം വളരുന്നതായിത്തീരണം. മഹാരാജാവ് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട് തന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഈ കോട്ട് അവിടുന്നുമാറാതിരുന്നതിനുമുമ്പായതന്നെ ഇതിനു പല പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും വരുത്താമായിരുന്നു. അതിനെ തുന്നിപ്പിടിപ്പിക്കാം. കീറൽമൂടാം. ഇങ്ങിനെ പലപരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും നിശ്ചയമായും വരുത്താമായിരുന്നു. അതിനു അവിടുന്നു ദയവായി അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള റൂൾസ്പ്രകാരമുള്ള അധികാരത്തെ നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് കുറെ അനുകമ്പയോടുകൂടി കുറെ ഉദാരബുദ്ധിയോടുകൂടി കുറെ വിശാലമനസ്കതയോടുകൂടി ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തിയിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ മതിയായിരുന്നു. നേരെ മറിച്ചാണ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ നയം. അതിനു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുകയും ആ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ഭരിക്കുന്ന ജനങ്ങളെ അനുമോദിക്കുകയുമാണ ഞാൻ ചെയ്യുന്നത്. പരിഷ്കാരത്തിനു രണ്ടുവഴികളാണുള്ളത്. ഒന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു വിശാലമനസ്കതയോടുകൂടി പരിഷ്കാരം വരുത്തൽ. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ മർദ്ദനംകൊണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾ ഉണർന്നു അവരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ വാങ്ങൽ. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടുള്ള എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ അവരുടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നയത്തെത്തന്നെ കുറെക്കൂടികഠിനമാക്കുകയൊ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെപ്പോലെ കുറെക്കൂടി ബുദ്ധിയുപയോഗി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ച്ചു ജനങ്ങളോടു യോജിച്ചു പോകയൊ ചെയ്യേണമെന്നാണു്. ര ണ്ടുതരത്തിലായാലും കായ്സാദ്ധ്യമുണ്ടാകുന്നതാണു്.

ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ ഏറവും മിത മായി വാദിക്കുന്നവരാണു്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളറിഞ്ഞു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുമായി സഹതപിക്കുവാൻ തയാറായിരിക്കുന്നവരുമാണു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ വിഷമപ്പെടുത്തേണമെന്നു ശാഠ്യക്കാരല്ല. എന്നിട്ടും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ഈ സഭയുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ അവഹേ ളിക്കുന്നതു കഷ്ടമാണു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തു അയക്കുന്ന പ്രതിനിധികളായ നിയമസഭാമെമ്പർമാർ ശത്രുക്കളാ ണെന്നും അവക്കു അധികാരം കൊടുത്തുകൂടെന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പറ യുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തുകാർതന്നെയായ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ഉ ദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും ശത്രുക്കളായതുകൊണ്ടു അവക്കും അധികാരം കൊടുത്തുകൂടെന്നും അതുകൊണ്ടു പുറമെനിന്നു ഭരണകർത്താക്കളെ ഇറക്കുമതി ചെയ്യേണമെന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു സമ്മതിക്കേണ്ടി വരും.

അതുകൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ ഇതാണു്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു കു റച്ചുകൂടി ഭാവനാശക്തി ഉപയോഗിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾ വളരെക്കാലമാ യി വാദിക്കുന്ന വാദങ്ങൾക്കു ഒരു തീരുമാനമുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കു ണം. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു നിയമസഭയുടെ തീരുമാനങ്ങളെ അനാദരിക്കു ന്നു എന്ന ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾക്കു സമാധാനം പറയാൻ ദിവാൻ പ്രൊ സിഡെണ്ടു കുറെമുമ്പെ ശ്രമിക്കയുണ്ടായി; ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അ നാദരവിനെ തെളിയിക്കാൻ സ്പെഷ്യൽ ഫിനാൻസു് കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിന്റെ കായ്യംമാത്രം എടുത്താൽ മതി. വളരെപണവും പലരുടേയും അധികംസമയംവുചിലവാക്കിയശേഷംഉണ്ടാക്കിയറി പ്പോർട്ടിനെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിക്കുവാൻ കൌൺസിലിന്റെ ഒരുസ്പെ ഷ്യൽ സെഷൻകൂടി വെച്ചു തീരുമാനങ്ങളുടെ ഫലമെന്തു? ഇത്രമാ ത്രം അല്പസമായ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു വല്ല സമാധാനവും പറയുവാനു ണ്ടൊ? കഴിഞ്ഞ മകരത്തിൽ അതുസംബന്ധിച്ചു ഉത്തരവുകൾ പാ സ്സാക്കുമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നതിനു വല്ല ഫലവുമുണ്ടായൊ?

ജനങ്ങൾക്കു അർഹതയുള്ള അവകാശങ്ങൾ അവക്കു കൊടുക്ക ണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ അതു അവർ പിടിച്ചു വാങ്ങേണ്ടിവരും.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഔസേപ്പു് പി. കുണ്ടുകുളം.—ഞാൻ ഇന്നത്തെവിഷയ ത്തിലേക്കു് പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനു മുമ്പായി നമ്മുടെ ഈ സഭയിൽഒരു അംഗത്തിന്റെ നിലയിൽ സന്നിധനായിരിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യ കുടുംബത്തിലെ കൊച്ചുതമ്പുരാൻ നമുക്കു് എന്തെല്ലാമാണു് ശ്രേ യസ്കരം എന്നറിഞ്ഞു അതിനായി നമ്മളോടു സദാ സഹകരിച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുവാൻ ഒരുങ്ങി വന്നിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ ഒന്നാ മതായി അനുമോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഒന്നു്—ബഡ്ജറ്റു്.— നമ്മുടെഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് എല്ലാരാജ്യത്തും ചെയ്യുവരാറുള്ളതു് അനുസരിച്ചു് ഒരു നിയമസഭാ വേണമെന്നും

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

അതിൽ കൊല്ലന്തോറും ഓരേ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് സെഷനും ആ സെഷനിൽ കൊല്ലന്തോറും അടിക്കാറുള്ള അച്ചിലെ അക്കങ്ങൾമാത്രം മാറ്റി ഒരു ബഡ്ജറും ഹാജരാക്കുക പതിവാണല്ലൊ. ഓരൊ മെമ്പന്മാരും അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഓരൊ അഭിപ്രായം പറയുക, കട്ട് സ് കൊണ്ടുവരിക, പാസാക്കുക, എല്ലാവരും വേണ്ടതൊക്കെചെയ്തു എന്നു അഭിമാനിച്ചുതിരിച്ചു പോകുക ഇതൊക്കെ ഒരു പതിവാണ്. കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലവും ഇതൊക്കെതന്നെ നടന്നു. അതിന്റെ ഫലവും നമുക്കൊക്കെ അറിയാവുന്നതാണ്. ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തിലും ബഡ്ജറ്—തിയ്യതിമാത്രം വ്യത്യാസം—ഒക്കെ തയ്യാറായി ഇതാവന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്തു പ്രയോജനം? നാല്പത്തഞ്ചു തലയിരുന്നു പുകയുന്ന ഈ സഭാ നടത്തുന്ന ഇതുയും കൊച്ചു കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്ത് കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ ഈവക സംഗതികളിൽ എന്തു ഗുണമാണ് ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടുള്ളതു? കൌൺസിൽ ഇതു സംബന്ധമായി വല്ലതും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടൊ? പാസാക്കീട്ടുണ്ടൊ? വല്ലതും പാസാക്കീട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ തന്നെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് അതു് അംഗീകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടൊ? ചുരുക്കം ചിലതു് അംഗീകരിച്ചു പക്ഷേ ഫലം ഒന്നും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഇതിന്നു കാരണം ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ സംഗതികളിൽ യാതൊന്നും പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. പ്രവൃത്തിക്കണമെന്നു കരുതുന്നുമില്ല. പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിന്നു നിബ്ബന്ധിക്കുമ്പോൾ വലിയ സംഖ്യ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു് ചില തടസ്ഥങ്ങളും നേരിടുവിക്കും.

കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ എന്നിവക്കു് പ്രത്യേക രക്ഷ ഒന്നും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലെന്നല്ല ആയ്തിന്റെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കു് ഉതകുന്നതായ മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളിൽ തടസ്ഥങ്ങളും വരുത്തിക്കൂട്ടുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇതിലേക്കു ഉതകുന്നതായ ഒരു സംഗതി പറഞ്ഞാൽ എല്ലാവരും എന്നെ വെറുക്കുമായിരിക്കും. പക്ഷേ, അതു കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ എന്നു പറയുന്ന ഈ മൂന്നു സംഗതികൾക്കും ഉപകാരമുള്ളതാണ്. കൊച്ചിയിലെ കച്ചവടമാണെങ്കിൽ നമ്മുടെ സാമാനങ്ങൾ താന്നവിലക്കു് അന്യദിക്കുകളിലേക്കു് അയച്ചുകൊടുക്കുകയും അവയെതന്നെ പ്രകാരഭേദം വരുത്തി വലിയവിലക്കു തിരികെ വാങ്ങി ഉപയോഗിക്കുകയുമാണ് പതിവു. ഈവക നഷ്ടത്തിന്നും ഇതു ഉപകാരപ്രദമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. എ. കുഞ്ഞുണ്ണിരാജ.—എന്തു സംഗതിയാണ് ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ഔസേപ്പു് പി. കുണ്ടുകുളം.—ലോട്ടറി. ഇന്നിപ്പോൾ വ്യവസായങ്ങളിൽ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്രാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന രാജ്യങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം ഇതു അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ലോട്ടറി ഇപ്പോഴിഷ്ടിലും മുടക്കീട്ടുണ്ടെല്ലൊ.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഔസേപ്പു് പി. കുണ്ടുകുളം.—ഉവ്വു്, അതുതന്നെയാണ് ഇതിൽ ചില സഹകാര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടെന്നു പറയുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇതു് കൈത്തൊഴിലിന്നും, കച്ചവടത്തിന്നും എന്നമാത്രമല്ല കൃഷി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ക്കും കൂടി വളരെ അഭിവൃദ്ധി നല്ലുന്ന ഒന്നാകുന്നു. ഉദാഹരണമായി പറയുന്നതായിരുന്നാൽ ഞാൻ ഒരു തീപ്പെട്ടി കമ്പനി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി എന്നുവെക്കുക. അതിൽ വളരെ വിശേഷമായ തീപ്പെട്ടികളും ഉണ്ടാക്കി. പഴയ കമ്പനിക്കാർ ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടുള്ള തീപ്പെട്ടിയുടെ വിലക്കൊപ്പം ചന്തയിൽ തക്കിച്ചു നല്ലുന്നതിനും" എന്റെ തീപ്പെട്ടിയുടെ വിശേഷതകൊണ്ടു് വില കൂടിയതിനാൽ സാധിക്കാതേയും വന്നു എന്നു് വിചാരിക്കുക. ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഞാൻ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയതായ തീപ്പെട്ടികൾ മുഴുവനും ആയ ചിലവിനു ഷോടതിയിൽ ഇടുന്നതിനു തീർച്ചയാക്കി എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതന്മാരെ വിളിച്ചുകൂട്ടി അവർക്കു് നേരിയ സംഖ്യക്കു് ടിക്കറുകൾവിറ്റു് ഷോടതി എടുത്തപ്പോൾ ഈ ചുരുങ്ങിയ സംഖ്യക്കു് ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ ആളുകൾക്കുമാത്രം എന്റെ കമ്പനിയിലെ സാധനങ്ങൾ കിട്ടുകയും അതു് ചുരുങ്ങിയ അങ്ങാടി വിലക്കു വില്ലുന്നതിനു അവർക്കു സാധിക്കുകയും അതു സംബന്ധമായി എന്റെ തീപ്പെട്ടികൾക്കു പ്രചാരണം കിട്ടുകയും തന്മൂലം മേലാൽ എന്റെ കമ്പനിയിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതായ സാധനങ്ങൾ നേരിട്ടു വില്ലുന്നതിനു എനിക്കു സാധിക്കുന്നതും ആകുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു ഏർപ്പാടു നമ്മുടെ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തു ഇല്ലാത്തതു മൂലമാണു് ഇപ്പോൾ ചാലക്കുടിയിൽ പൊങ്ങി നില്ലുന്നതായ ടാറിയും പോട്ടറിയും അതിലേക്കു് വിലവുചെയ്തായിരിക്കുന്ന സംഖ്യയും നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടുപോയി എന്നുപറയുന്നതു്.

രണ്ടു. നിയമസഭ.—ഈ നിയമസഭയെപ്പറ്റി പറയുന്നതായാൽ ഇവിടെ നമുക്കു് ഐകൃമില്ല എന്നതൊന്നു പറയേണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ ഇടയിൽ മൂന്നതരം സ്വഭാവമാണു് ഉള്ളതു. അതായതു് മതസ്വഭാവം, ഉദ്യോഗസ്വഭാവം, ജന്മസ്വഭാവം ഇതുകളാണു്. ഇതിൽ ഞാൻ ഇരുഭാഗക്കാരേയും നോക്കാതേയാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. ഈ സ്വഭാവങ്ങളെല്ലാം നാം കളഞ്ഞു രാജ്യാഭിവൃദ്ധി, പ്രജാക്ഷേമം, ഇവകളെ നാം മുന്നണിയിൽ നിറുത്തി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. ഈ സഭയിൽ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രമേയങ്ങളിലും അനുപ്രമേയങ്ങളിലും നൂറിനു് തൊണ്ണൂറഞ്ചു് വീതവും ഞാൻ മുൻ പറയപ്പെട്ട മൂന്നു സ്വഭാവങ്ങളിൽ പെട്ടവയാണു്. ബാക്കിയുള്ള അഞ്ചു വീതം മാത്രമെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തെക്കും തന്നിലെ പ്രജകൾക്കും ഉപകാരപ്രദമായിട്ടുള്ളതുള്ളു എന്നു ഞാൻ നിസ്സംശയം പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. അങ്ങിനെ ചുരുക്കം മാത്രം ഉള്ളവയിൽതന്നെ അധികശതമാനവും ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് അംഗീകരിക്കാതെയും പോയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഈ ഒരു നയം നമ്മുടെ ഈ സഭയിൽനിന്നു മാറണം. രാജ്യത്തിനും പ്രജകൾക്കും ക്ഷേമകരമായിരിക്കുന്ന കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ, ഇവകളുടെ വർദ്ധനക്കു വേണ്ടി ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു ഭാഗക്കാരും തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട മാന്യ മെമ്പന്മാരും ഉത്സാഹിക്കണം. കാലോചിതം പോലെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനും പ്രജ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

കാര്യങ്ങൾ ക്ഷേമകരമായവയെ നാം ആലോചന കൊടുക്കുകയും അവ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ട് സ്വീകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ തെരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടു് വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന മെമ്പർമാർ ഖജനാവിൽ നിന്നു് പണം കൂത്തി കവർന്നു കൊണ്ടുപോകുന്നതിനു വന്നിരിക്കുന്നവരാണു് എന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു് തെറ്റാണു്: ഓരോരോ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിലും ഇരിക്കുന്നവർക്കു അവരവരുടെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകാര്യം ഗുണകരമായും, ശുഭമായും നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടു് എന്നു കേൾക്കുന്നതിൽ എത്രത്തോളം നിർഭരമുണ്ടോ അതിനെക്കാളധികം പ്രതിഫലങ്ങു് ഈ ആലോചനാസഭാ വെച്ചതിനുശേഷം നമ്മുടെ ഖജനാവിൽ പണം നിറയുകയും ജനങ്ങൾ സുഖം അനുഭവിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു എന്നു അന്യ നാട്ടുകാരായ പലരിൽനിന്നും കേട്ടു നിർഭരിക്കുന്നതിനു് കാത്തിരിക്കുന്ന കൂട്ടുകാരാണു ഞങ്ങൾ. ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു മാന്യ മെമ്പർ കൊച്ചിയിലെ റോഡുകൾ വളരെ മോശമാണെന്നു് പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ അവ "ദ ബെസ്റ്റ്" ആണെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയാം. പലരും പറയുന്ന അഭിപ്രായം ഞാൻ കേട്ടിട്ടുള്ളവനാണു്. അതിൽ നിർഭരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവനുമാണു്. ഈ നിയമസഭയിലെ മാന്യ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് അംഗങ്ങളും ജനപ്രതിനിധികളും യോജിച്ചു നടക്കുന്നു എന്നു കേൾക്കുന്നതിൽ ഏറ്റവും അഭിമാനമുള്ളവരാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ. അതിനായി ഉത്സാഹിക്കുന്നവരുമാണു്. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് ഈ ജനപ്രതിനിധികളുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ കേൾക്കണം അതു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ പേരിനു് ശ്രേയസ്സുരമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഗുണമായിട്ടുള്ളതു കേൾക്കുവാനും അനുസരിക്കുവാനും ഞങ്ങൾ സന്നദ്ധന്മാരാണു്. അതിനു ഞങ്ങൾ സദാ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നുമുണ്ടു്. ശ്രമിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും ചെയ്യാം.

മൂന്നു:—ഇനി ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുവാൻ പോകുന്നതു്. ഒന്നായി പറയുന്നതായാൽ നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിൽ രണ്ടു മൂന്നു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകൾ ഒഴിച്ചു മറ്റൊക്കെ തരംവിധം നന്നായും ഭംഗിയായും നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടു് എന്നുതന്നെ പറയണം. ഈ മൂന്നു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകൾ കൃഷി, പഞ്ചായത്തു, കോപ്പറേറ്റീവു സംഘം ഇവകളാകുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഭംഗിയായി നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് ഞാൻ ഘോഷിച്ചുതായ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളിലെ ചില ന്യൂനതകളെ ചൂണ്ടികാണിപ്പാൻ ഭാവിക്കയാണു്. അതു് അവയെ പരിഹരിക്കുന്നതിനു മാത്രവുമാണു്. ഒന്നാമതു:— പ്രൈമറി സ്കൂളുകൾ;—ഇവ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ കൊച്ചുകുട്ടികളെ കണക്കിലൊ മറ്റൊ വീഴാതെ നോക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള കെട്ടിടങ്ങൾ മാത്രമായി തീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഞാൻ ഒരിക്കൽ രണ്ടു മൂന്നു ഹെഡ്മാസ്റ്റർമാർ ഒരുമിച്ചു് ഒരു ബസ്സിൽകൂടി യാത്ര ചെയ്യുന്ന സമയത്തു നമ്മുടെ വലിയ തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ പേരു ചൊ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ടിച്ചുപ്പോൾ പറയുന്നതിനു കുറെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ഈ തരത്തിലുള്ള സ്കൂളുകളെകൊണ്ടു് എന്തു പ്രയോജനം? ക്ലാസ്സിൽ കുട്ടികളുടെ മിനിമം നമ്പർ മുപ്പതാക്കിയാൽ ചിലവു നിശ്ചയമായും ഇപ്പോൾ ഉള്ളതിന്റെ മുക്കാലാവും. എന്നാൽ വലിയ തുക അമ്പത്തൊമ്പതോളം ആകാതെ നിവൃത്തിയും ഇല്ലാ. അറുപത കുട്ടികൾ തികഞ്ഞെങ്കിൽ മാത്രമെ രണ്ടു ക്ലാസ്സുകളായി തിരിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. അറുപതിൽ കുറഞ്ഞാൽ രണ്ടു ക്ലാസ്സുകളിൽ ഓരോന്നിൽ മിനിമം കുട്ടികളുടെ എണ്ണം മുപ്പതിൽ കുറയുമല്ലൊ. അപ്പോൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാക്കു് പകുതി ശമ്പളവുമായി. അറുപത കുട്ടികൾ തികഞ്ഞ ക്ലാസ്സുകൾ രണ്ടായി തിരിച്ചാൽതന്നെ രണ്ടു ക്ലാസ്സുകളിലെക്കും കൂടി ഒരു അദ്ധ്യാപകനും ദിവസത്തിൽ അഞ്ചു് മണിക്കുർ പഠിപ്പുള്ളതു രണ്ടര മണിക്കുറുമായി തീരും. ഇങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യുന്നതു് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിലേക്ക പണത്തിൽ കുറച്ചു പേരിൽ കൂട്ടുവാനുള്ള ഒരു നല്ല നയമാണെന്നു് അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലം മാനേജരുമെന്നു് നടത്തിയ ഞാൻ സൂക്ഷ്മമായി പറയാം. എന്നാൽ തീരെ അക്ഷരജ്ഞാനം ഇല്ലാത്ത കൊച്ചു പൈതങ്ങളെ അക്ഷരജ്ഞാനം വരുത്തുന്നതിനു് ഒരു അദ്ധ്യാപകനു് എത്രബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ അമ്പത്തൊമ്പതു കുട്ടികൾ വരെ ഒരു അദ്ധ്യാപകൻതന്നെ ശരാശരി ഇരുപത്തിനാലു മണിക്കുർ വീതം കണക്കാക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ ദിവസങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ ശരിയായ അക്ഷരജ്ഞാനം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു നിർബ്ബന്ധിക്കുകയില്ലായിരുന്നു. എന്നുതന്നെയുമല്ല ഇപ്പോൾ കൊച്ചി സംസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ള എല്ലാ പ്രൈമറി സ്കൂളുകളും ഒന്നാക്കി ശരാശരി മുപ്പതു കുട്ടികൾ വീതം ഓരോ ക്ലാസ്സുകളിലേക്കും തിരിക്കുന്നതിനു് നല്ല ഒരു പരിശോധന കഴിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഇന്നു നടത്തുന്ന സ്കൂളുകൾ നൂറിക്ക എഴുപത്തഞ്ചു വീതം മാത്രം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതാണു്. സ്കൂളുകളെ നിയന്ത്രണം ചെയ്യുവാൻ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ചിലവഴിക്കുന്ന പണത്തെ ഉപയോഗപ്രദമാംവണ്ണം ചിലവഴിച്ചു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ടുമെണ്ടിനെ പരിഷ്കരിക്കാതെ ഈ വകുപ്പിൽ പണം കുറക്കുന്നതിനായി Half-time system, മിനിമം എണ്ണം കുട്ടുക, ഈ വക അസൌകര്യമായിട്ടുള്ള നിയമങ്ങളെ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ നയം തെറ്റാണു്. ഒരിക്കൽ നമ്മുടെ ഡയറക്ടർതന്നെ ഒരു എഫ്. എം. യുവീനോടു് "ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് കുറെക്കൂടി പണം ചിലവഴിക്കുന്നതിനു് അനുവദിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഞങ്ങളുടെ ശതമാനം തൊണ്ണൂറു വീതം ആക്കാമായിരുന്നു" എന്നു പറയുന്നതു ഞാൻ കേൾക്കയുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഈ ഡയറക്ടർ തന്നെ അടുത്ത കൊല്ലാരംഭം മുതൽക്ക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ടുമെണ്ടിലെ പണം ചിലവു കുറക്കുന്നതിനു ശ്രമിച്ചു തുടങ്ങിയതായി ഞാൻ അറിയുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇതിനു് എടുത്ത നയം കൊച്ചു പൈതങ്ങളോടാണു്.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

അവയാണ് ഞാൻ മുൻ പറയപ്പെട്ടവ. ഇതുകൊണ്ട് ഒന്നും ഗുണമുണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. വലിയ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ഗവൺമെണ്ട് അനാവശ്യമായി ചിലവാക്കുന്ന പണം ഈ കൊച്ചു പൈതങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു് ചിലവാക്കെണം എന്നെ ഞാൻ പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. ഞാൻ ഒന്നുചോദിക്കട്ടെ. ഇത്രയും പെറിയ കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തു എന്തിനാണ് ഇത്ര കോളെജുകൾ? ഈസംസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ള ആൺകുട്ടികൾക്കു തുല്യിവപേക്ഷരു ഉള്ള ഒരു കോളെജും പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്കു ഇവിടെയുള്ള സൻറ് തെറേസാസ് കോളെജും ധാരാളം മതിയായിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിനുവേണ്ട ഒത്താശകൾ ചെയ്തുകൊടുത്ത് നല്ലമാനെജ്മെണ്ടിൽ നടത്തുന്നതിനു ശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. അതല്ലാതെ ഗവൺമെണ്ട് വകയായി പുതിയ കോളെജുകൾ തുറക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കയല്ലാവേണ്ടതു് ഇങ്ങിനെ. ചെയ്യുന്നത് ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൻറ പേരിനു ശ്രുതിഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും പ്രജകൾക്കു ഗുണം പോരാ.

കൈത്തൊഴിലുകളിൽ ഉയന്തരം അഭ്യാസം കിട്ടത്തക്കനിലയിലുള്ള കൊളെജൊ അതുപോലെയുള്ള മറവു സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളൊ തുടങ്ങി നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിലെ കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ, ഇവയെ വൽപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു് നോക്കണം. നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിൽ വലിയവിദ്യതുകൾ സമ്പാദിച്ചു unemployed എന്ന വിലവിളി കൂടാതെ കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടത്തക്ക ഒരു Education ആണ് വേണ്ടതു. ഇനി പഞ്ചായത്തുകൾ-ഇതിനു ഇതിനോടു പ്രത്യേകസ്സമ്പ് ഒന്നും ഇല്ല. പക്ഷെ ഇതു നികൃഷ്ടമായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു ഏർപ്പാടു—ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും നാട്ടുപുറങ്ങളിലേക്കു ഗുണകരമായ തീരെണമെന്നവിചാരിച്ചു സ്ഥാപിച്ചിട്ടുകൂടി ഇതു പൊട്ടയായി പരിണമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഏർപ്പാടു-മറവു യാതൊന്നും ഉണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. പഞ്ചായത്തും കൊ-ഓപ്പറെട്ടീവും കണക്കശരിതന്നെ. പഞ്ചായത്തിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഒരു ആക്ഷേപവുംകൂടി നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടു. അതുഎന്തെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ, ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനെപ്പറ്റി ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നവരെപിടിച്ചു പഞ്ചായത്ത് മെമ്പ്രമാരാക്കി ആ പണിക്കു, ഈ പണിക്കു എന്നും പറഞ്ഞു കുറെപണവും അവരുടെപക്കൽ കെട്ടിഏല്പിച്ചു ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിൻറ അറകുറകൾക്കുള്ള മെഴുനം ദീക്ഷിപ്പിച്ചിരുത്തുന്ന ഒരു ഏർപ്പാടു എന്നാണ് ജനപക്ഷം. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ജനക്ഷേമത്തിനു് ഉദ്യമിക്കുന്നവരും പഞ്ചായത്ത് മെമ്പ്രമാരായി തീരുന്നതിനു ഇടവരുന്നില്ല. പിന്നെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൻറ കാര്യമാണെങ്കിൽ നാട്ടുകാർ എങ്ങിനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കും? പണക്കാരുടെയും അധികാരികളുടെയും influence പിള്ളറ ഒന്നുംഅല്ല. പഞ്ചായത്തു കൊണ്ടു വിശേഷിച്ചു ഒരു ഗുണം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതു് എന്താണെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ വഴികളുടെ ഇരുഭാഗത്തും ചാലുകളിൽ കിടക്കുന്ന ചള്ള എല്ലാം കോരിവഴിയിലിട്ടു നടക്കുവാൻ വയ്യാതാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ടു എന്നു ഒന്നു മാത്രമാണ്.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

കൊ-ഓപ്പറെറീവ്.—കൊ-ഓപ്പറേഷൻ ഒരു നല്ല സംഗതിയാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു സാധുക്കൾക്കു ആവശ്യത്തിനു പണംകിട്ടും പക്ഷെ പിരിക്കുന്നതിൽ കണിശംവേണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ വലിയതകരാറുകളും കഷ്ടനഷ്ടങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടാകും. ഒരിക്കൽ ഒരു കിഴവി വന്നു എന്റെ അടുക്കൽ ഒരു സങ്കടം പറകയുണ്ടായി. "ഞാൻ ഒരു കോ-ഓപ്പറെറീവ് സംഘത്തിൽനിന്നു പതിനഞ്ചു ഉറുപ്പികകടം വാങ്ങിയിരുന്നു. മുപ്പത് ഉറുപ്പിക തിരികെ അടച്ചിട്ടും പിന്നെയും മുപ്പത്തഞ്ചു ഉറുപ്പിക ബാക്കിഉണ്ടെന്നു പറയുന്നു. മകനെ, ഇനി ഞാൻ എന്തുവേണം? നീ അതൊന്നു തീർപ്പിച്ചുതന്നാൽ കൊള്ളാം". ഇതിലും അധികം ആ വൃദ്ധാ അടയ്ക്കുന്നതിനും ഇതിലധികം ബാക്കിവരുവാനും കാരണം ആ സംഘത്തിലെ മെമ്പ്രമാരുടെ ഉദാസീനതയും തൽസ്സംബന്ധമായ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ശരിയായി ജോലിചെയ്യായ്കയും മാത്രമാണ്. ഈ സ്ഥാപനം സാധുക്കളുടെ പണം കള്ളന്മാർ തട്ടിഎടുക്കുന്നതിനുംകൂടി ഉപകരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു. പണത്തിനുള്ള അപേക്ഷമാത്രം എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു നൊട്ടഎഴുതുന്ന ഫാറത്തിൽ ഈ സാധുക്കളെകൊണ്ടു ഒപ്പിടുവിച്ച കള്ളന്മാർ പണം കയ്ക്കലാക്കുന്നു. പണം മുഴുവനും കിട്ടിയില്ല എന്നും പറഞ്ഞ അല്പം വല്ലതും കയ്യിൽവെച്ചു കൊടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും. ഒടുവിൽ പണം അടക്കേണ്ടുന്ന സമയം വരുമ്പോൾ മേടിച്ചവനും മുതലില്ല, വിഴുങ്ങിയവനും മുതലില്ല. എന്തു ചെയ്യട്ടെ? സ്വന്തമുള്ള സഭാംഗങ്ങൾ കെട്ടെണ്ടതായിവരും. ഇപ്പോഴും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിലേക്കു നഷ്ടമില്ല. ഉദാഹരണമായി പറയുന്നതായാൽ ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു ഇന്നു നിരത്തൽ ചെയ്തു ഇതിൽ എറക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള പണം പിരിക്കുന്നതിനു ശ്രമിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ശരിയായി വാങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ളവരിൽനിന്നും അതാതു സംഘങ്ങളുടെ നേതാക്കളിൽനിന്നും സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും ഒഴിഞ്ഞുനില്ക്കുന്ന മെമ്പ്രമാരിൽ നിന്നല്ലാതെ പകുതി പണമെങ്കിലും കിട്ടുമോ എന്ന സംശയമാണ്.

ഇനി നമ്മുടെ കൃഷി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിലേക്കു ഒന്നുപ്രവേശിക്കാം. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു വളരെവിശേഷമായി ഒരു കാഴ്ചബങ്കളാവു തുടങ്ങുകയാണെങ്കിൽ നമ്മുടെ സെൻറൽ ഫാറം ആയിട്ടിന്നു ഉപയോഗിക്കാം. അവിടെ വിശേഷതരം മരങ്ങളും, പുൽചെടികളും, കായ്കനികളും വളരെ ഉണ്ടു. ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു യാതൊരു നഷ്ടവും വന്നിട്ടില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ വഴിയിലുള്ള എല്ലാ വൃക്ഷങ്ങളും, ഫാറവും ഇംഗ്ലീഷുള്ളേടത്തോളം കാലം ആദായംഎടുത്തു. ആവശ്യമുള്ളപ്പോൾ മുറിച്ചെടുക്കാംഎന്ന നിശ്ചയത്തിന്മേൽ നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു അവയെ വിലുന്നതായാൽ ചിലവായപണം നിശ്ചയമായും കിട്ടും. എന്നാൽ അതുകൊണ്ടു കൃഷിക്കെന്തുരക്ഷയാണു ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതു? ഒന്നുമില്ല. അതും അവതക്കിതന്നെ. മുമ്പു പതിനഞ്ചു വിളവുണ്ടായിരുന്ന നില

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ങ്ങളിൽ ഇവരുടെ സഹായസഹകരണം കൊണ്ടു ഇപ്പോൾ നാലും, അഞ്ചും, ആയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് പറയാതെ തരമില്ല. എന്റെ കൃഷിയിൽ തന്നെ ഒരിക്കൽ മഹാളികേടവന്നപ്പോൾ മരുന്നു വാങ്ങാൻ യന്ത്രം കിട്ടാതെ വളരെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകയുണ്ടായി. ഒടുവിൽ കോയമ്പത്തൂരനിന്നാണു് ഒന്നു് കൊണ്ടുവന്നു് കാര്യം നിറവേറ്റിയതു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. രാമൻമേനോൻ.—ഇപ്പോൾ ന്യായമായിട്ടുള്ള നോട്ടം ഞങ്ങൾ വാങ്ങീട്ടുണ്ടു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി സ്പീക്കർ.—ഉവ്വു്. അതിൽ ഒന്നു ഞാനും വാങ്ങിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഗവൺമെണ്ടു ലാഭിച്ചിട്ടുമുണ്ടു്.

പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു—അവിടേയും പല ചില്ലറ ന്യൂനതകളും ഉണ്ടു. ഞങ്ങളുടെനാട്ടിൽ ഒരു ദിവസം ഒരു സാധുവിനെ കുറെ ആളുകൾകൂടി പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ആരൊ പറഞ്ഞപോലെ അയാൾ മജിസ്ട്രേട്ടകോടതിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുപോയി. കേസ്സുകൊടുത്തു. ആദ്യം വിചാരണക്കു കേസ്സിനപോയി. മടങ്ങിവരുമ്പോൾ അയാൾക്കു പിന്നെയും പൊതിരെതല്ലു്. എന്താതെളിവു്? ഒരു വസ്തുവില്ല. എന്താകാരണം? കയ്യിൽ കാശുമില്ല. വല്ല നാട്ടുപ്രമാണികളോടുംപറഞ്ഞിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ അടികൊണ്ടവനും കുറക്കാരൻനിന്നും ദേഹരക്ഷക്കായിട്ടെങ്കിലും കുറച്ചുവകവാങ്ങികൊടുത്തു് കാര്യം അവസാനിപ്പിക്കാമായിരുന്നു. അതു അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാതെ നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനോടുപോയി സങ്കടം പറഞ്ഞതിനാൽ രണ്ടാമതും പൊറംപൊളിയെ തല്ലുകൊള്ളേണ്ടിവന്നു. പൊല്ലീസ്സുകാരുവന്നു് കേസ്സു് അന്വേഷിച്ചു റ-ൺ-ാംനു- എന്നുള്ളതു റ വു -ാംനു- എന്നൊ മറ്റൊ റിപ്പോർട്ടുചെയ്തു. കേസ്സുംതള്ളി. ഇതുവാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായ ഒരു സംഭവമാണു്. ഇതുപോലെ പലകേസ്സുകളും നടപ്പുണ്ടു. എന്തു ചെയ്യും, കാര്യകുറഞ്ഞവക്കു ചെന്നുപറവാൻതോന്നുകില്ല, ആളില്ല. അവക്കു എഴുത്തും ഇല്ല.

പിന്നെ നമ്മുടെ ബസ്സു് സർവ്വീസു്. ഇതും ബഹുസങ്കടകരത്തിലാണു് നടക്കുന്നതു. വഴിമദ്ധ്യത്തിലുള്ള ഒരുത്തനു് കുന്നംകുളത്തേക്കുപോകണമെങ്കിൽ തൃശ്ശിവപെരൂരെ എത്തണം തൃപ്പൂണിത്തുറക്കു പോകണമെങ്കിൽ എറണാകുളത്തും വരണം ഇതാണു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ബസ്സു് സർവ്വീസിന്റെ സമയപട്ടികമാറ്റത്തിൽ വന്നുകൂടിയിട്ടുള്ളതു. ഇപ്പോൾ സാധാരണയായി ബസ്സുകൾ പുറപ്പെടുന്ന സമയത്തു് കൈകാണിക്കാൻരണ്ടുകൂട്ടരെയാണു് കാണുന്നതു, പൊല്ലീസ്സുകാരും, പിച്ചക്കാരും (ചിരി). പൊല്ലീസ്സിനെക്കൊണ്ടു ഇതൊക്കെയാണു് സാധുക്കൾക്കുള്ള രക്ഷ.

എക്സൈസു് ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിനെപ്പറ്റിയാണു് ഇനിപറവാനുള്ളതു്. ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ വരുന്നതിനുമുമ്പുതന്നെ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ളതാണു് മദ്യപാനം കുറക്കുവാനുള്ള മുറവിളി. ഞാനും ഒരു പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു. അതു വൈകുന്നേരം മൂന്നുമണിക്കു തല്ലുകൊള്ളാതെ വഴിനടക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി കള്ളുഷാപ്പുകൾ വഴിയ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

രകിൽനിന്നു കുറച്ചുവാരനക്കിവെച്ചാൽ കൊള്ളമെന്നായിരുന്നു. അതു ഇവിടെ ഭിന്നാഭിപ്രായമില്ലാതെ പാസ്സായിട്ടും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു അതിനെ സമ്മതിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഇതു ഞാൻകൊണ്ടുവന്നതു കള്ളുകുടിതീരെ നിർത്തുവാനല്ല. യാത്രക്കാക്ക് തല്ലുകൊള്ളാതെ കഴിപ്പാൻ മാത്രമാണു്. മാറാതെ ഇരുന്നാലത്തെ ഉപദ്രവങ്ങളും ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു. ഒരാൾ കള്ളുകുടിച്ചു ബസ്സിന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ ചാടി വീണു. മറെറാരുവൻ ഒരു ഗൃഹസ്ഥനായ നമ്പൂതിരിയുടെ കാറ് പിടിച്ചു നിറുത്തി. ഇതൊക്കെയാണദോഷങ്ങൾ.

ഇതു കൂടാതെ വേറെ ഒരു ദുഷ്പ്രവൃത്തിനടക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതു ചക്കരകള്ളും നല്ല കള്ളും കൂടിവില്ക്കുന്നതിലാണു്. ഇങ്ങിനെ കൂട്ടിവില്ക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള കാരണം ചക്കരക്കള്ളിനു പ്രത്യേക പീസ്സുകൂടാതെപ്പെത്തുന്നതിനു അനുവദിച്ചതിനാലാണു്. ചക്കരചെത്തുന്ന വൃക്ഷങ്ങൾക്കും കള്ളുചെത്തുന്ന വൃക്ഷങ്ങൾക്കും രണ്ടിനും ഒരുപോലെ പീസ്സുവെക്കുകയൊ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്താൽ ഈ ഒരു ദുഷ്പ്രവൃത്തി ഇല്ലാതാകുന്നതാണു്. ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം നിറുത്തൽ ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു ഉടനെ ശ്രമിക്കണം.

ഇനി ഓഡിറ്റ് കണക്കുകളെപറ്റിയാണു്. നമ്മുടെ കൊച്ചി സംസ്ഥാനത്തെ നീക്കിയിരിപ്പുകണക്കു് പരിശോധന തീരെ ചിട്ടയിലായിട്ടില്ലെന്നു പറയേണ്ടതിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ ഈ നീക്കിയിരിപ്പു പരിശോധനയെപ്പറ്റി ആഫ്പീസ്സിൽചിലരോടു നീക്കിയിരിപ്പു് സാധനങ്ങളുടെ കണക്കു് എങ്ങിനെ എടുക്കുന്നു എന്നുചോദിച്ചതിനു ഓരോരൊ ആഫ്പീസ്സുകളിലും ബാക്കിയായിവരുന്ന മരം, കറുപ്പു്, കഞ്ഞാ, തുലാസ്സുപ്പടികൾ, ഇവകളിൽ വിറ്റതുകഴിച്ചു ബാക്കി എത്രയുണ്ടെന്നു നോക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നും അവ അതാതു് ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകാരുടെ കണക്കിൽ കണ്ടബാക്കിയെടുത്തിടുകയാണെന്നും പറകയുണ്ടായി. അങ്ങിനെചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ വളരെ വീഴ്ചകൾ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് നമുക്കു് സൂക്ഷ്മമാണെല്ലൊ. ആയതിനാൽ ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിൽ ജോലികൾ എടുക്കുന്നതിനു ആളുകൾ പോരാതെ ഇരുന്നാൽ പുതിയ ആളുകളെ വെച്ചൊ മറെറാ ക്രമപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതാണു്. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു വളരെ ആദായമുള്ളതുമാണു്. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധപതിഞ്ഞുകണ്ടാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

Deputy President.—If you have to say anything, you will have to speak to-day or else I will call the official Members, and, therefore, you will lose your chance.

Dr. E. A. Veigas.—Mr. President, Sir, I rise to congratulate the Finance Member on the ably prepared financial statement presented to this House and now under discussion. I would like to confine myself to one or two subjects I am interested in. Sir, the budget discussion is the time when Members place for consideration of Government their needs and

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

grievances for redress. As nominated Member, representing the Anglo-Indians, I take this opportunity to say a few words on behalf of that community. Several factors have combined to adversely affect the economic condition of that community. I need not go into the causes that brought on much distress. The main cause is unemployment. There was a time when in this State Anglo-Indians were employed in large numbers, filled responsible positions and rendered loyal service. The Anglo-Indians now rarely hold high positions, a few occupy subordinate posts. They are, therefore, less able than formerly to take on themselves unaided the great responsibility of educating the poor of their community. There are numerous schools maintained by Government to meet the specific needs of many other communities. The Anglo-Indian community depends mainly on schools established and maintained by church and missionary organisations. The difficulties and disabilities which the community suffers are well known to the Government of Madras as evidenced by the fact that, when the Adi-Dravidas community put forward their claims that free education should be given to their poor girls, a resolution was passed giving all the girls of other poor communities also free education up to a certain standard. The Government very sympathetically extended the benefit to the Anglo-Indian community. A Madras Government Notification says that the concession of exemption from payment of school fees sanctioned in G. O. No. 104, Education, dated May 13. 1929, shall apply also to poor girls reading in standards up to and inclusive of the Seventh in the European Schools. The Director of Public Instruction has been requested to submit in draft the necessary amendments to the code of regulation for European Schools. There are in the several schools in this State 770 Anglo-Indian children of whom 374 are boys and 396 girls. The parents of some of them are very poor, many children are detained in their homes for want of funds. I make a modest request that Government will sympathetically consider their necessitions condition and sanction free education to the poor boys and girls up to a standard to be decided by the Director of Education, making a small grant in that line. St. Teresa's Convent School, St. Albert's School and other schools will furnish the names of the children deserving the concession should the Director of Education make a benevolent gesture in this direction.

Ayurvedic Hospitals and Dispensaries.—The excessively rapid advance of medicine and medical sciences requires that men placed in charge of medical institutions should be qualified and skilled medical officers with technical aptitudes and special

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

knowledge such as are required for the practice of the profession. They should be men so trained as to enable them to keep abreast more or less with medicine progress. Education of future practitioners has been made more and more thorough, so much so that the L. M. and S. degree and the L. M. P. diplomas are now considered to be below the standard for medical registration. When such is the case, will the Government be justified in maintaining Ayurvedic Vaidyasalas in charge of men who have no training on scientific basis, the Ayurvedic system itself being very imperfect ? I am not against the Ayurvedic system. Many Indians claim that the origin and development of the Allopathic system can be traced to knowledge derived from the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine in India. There is no difference between the Allopathic and Ayurvedic systems, except that the Western system has been perfected and placed on scientific basis. Why are the several Ayurvedic institutions, one hospital and 16 dispensaries, working unsatisfactorily ? It is because they are placed in charge of men whose special knowledge is not laid on a foundation of literary and scientific culture; they have no sense of responsibility. There is a Medical School of Indian Medicine in Madras where men are trained to become competent practitioners of Indian system of medicine with a working knowledge of the Western system also. After a four years' course these men qualify for the L. T. M. diploma. As a tentative measure a few of these men may be put in charge of some of the Ayurvedic dispensaries. I have a proposition for the acceptance or rejection of Government. There are many L. M. Ps. (Cochinites) in this State unemployed. The annual increasing numbers of these men who embark in practice go to lessen day by day the individual gains and comforts of the members of the profession. Can't the Government send some of these men to be trained in the School of Indian Medicine, Madras ? The men need not attend the lectures on the subjects in Western medicine, they can wholly devote their time and energy to acquiring a thorough knowledge of Indian system of medicine. Exemption from the study of Western system and curtailment of the period of the course of studies may be sought. The Government of Madras will surely sanction the same. The Ayurvedic Institutions can be placed in charge of these men under the direct supervision of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer. The institutions will then be more acceptable and profitable to the rural population and the efficiency of the Medical Department of the State will be enhanced.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Deputy President.—You lose your chance to-morrow. I will just record that fact here that you are not prepared to speak anything to-day. I call upon all the Members here to say whether they are prepared to speak anything.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—Only two days are given us for discussion.

Deputy President.—I understand there is some discretion given to the President. If he calls upon any Member to speak what he has to say, and if he declines, he loses his chance. Government Members must also be given some chance to explain.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—We used to give half of the second day for the Government Members to explain.

Deputy President.—May or may not be. I can't put off. I cannot adjourn before 5.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—I heartily congratulate H. H. Prince Rama Varmha Tampuran for condescending to accept his present office. Whether or not it is desirable for a Member of the Royal House to accept office and take an active part in the working of the Government, I do not now propose to discuss. With His Highness' accepting the responsible office of the Secretary, we expect to see the dawn of a new era in the administration of Cochin. I am sure His Highness will make a judicious use of the advantageous position in which He is placed. I sincerely wish His Highness God speed in the task before Him.

Sir, we are met here to discuss the sixth budget. The general discussion of the budget gives us an opportunity to review the administration of the previous year or years and to suggest improvements for the year to follow. This is an occasion which, if properly utilised, will result in immense good to all concerned, the Rulers and the ruled alike. A cursory glance over the pages of the printed Proceedings of this House will convince any one that the occasion has invariably been used by the non-official section of the House to great advantage. The short-comings of the Government, too many in number, have almost all of them been clearly pointed out by this section of the House during the previous discussions. The legitimate needs of the people of the State have also been placed before the Government from time to time. The extreme need for an Executive Council answerable to the Legislature, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive thereby conducing to the sterling independence of the Judiciary so indispensable, the handling of the Excise Policy of the State in such a way as to ultimately lead to prohibition, the remodelling of the school curriculum so as to make education imparted in our schools fit to earn our daily

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

bread at least, the working of our forest to the advantage of the State and not to the benefit solely of a favoured few, the systematising of our services in such a way as to ensure that every officer gets an impetus to work and not grow discontented with the sight of superannuated men being brought from outside and placed over their heads in some cases or repeated extensions being given to the men at the top either at their own instance or otherwise, the extreme necessity for the revision of the salary of the subordinate services in such a way as to keep the wolf away from the door, the grant of real powers to self-governing institutions, such as the Panchayats and Municipalities, the opening of more Ayurvedic dispensaries in rural areas, the undesirability of spending huge sums of money upon palatial buildings, often-times not very useful if not altogether unnecessary, the urgent necessity of introducing a well-settled system of irrigation and a net-work of different systems of communications in rural areas, the solving of the almost threatening unemployment problem, the appointment of the Staff Selection Board for purposes of recruitment to the services with a view to lesson the chances of favouritism which is now so rampant, the extreme necessity for making the administration less top-heavy, the granting of more powers to the Legislative Council with a non-official President and an extended franchise, the exercise of a more effective supervision of the various Departments by the Executive Head, the separation of the Department of Panchayats from Agriculture, the abolition of the ludicrous systems of filling up vacancies by drafting first class Chief Court Judges to the Head of the Revenue, able and trusted Sessions Judges as Excise Commissioner and first rate Munsiffs as Superintendent of Registration, to mention a few of such examples,—these and kindred other things have been very strongly urged upon the attention of the Government for the last 5 years. But with what result? Alas! to the disappointment, nay, the everlasting disgrace of the non official section of the House, these representations have remained a cry in the wilderness, and if the present order of things is allowed to continue, it will ever remain a cry in the wilderness still. We must confess and shamefully confess that we have not been able to achieve anything. Instead of having an Executive Council, we have, Sir, the Diwan growing more and more powerful, each Departmental Head growing into a miniature Diwan, superannuated men kept in service, Sir, without being told for what length of time they will be there, and when asked for information in this House to be told in turn that the same cannot be divulged being contained in confidential papers. In some other cases we are told that repeated extensions

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

were given, some 'in the interests of the service,' some others 'in the interests of the State'. I fail to see where the difference lies, and what interest except self-interest is served thereby. The Government attitude in the matter of the Excise Policy in spite of its protestations made on the floor of the House is such that it brings more and more of tainted revenue into the coffers of the State year after year. Consumption is on the increase and the health and prosperity of the toiling is alarmingly on the decrease. This clearly shows that the Government is not sincere at all in its loud protestations regarding its Excise Policy, and has no regard for the health and prosperity of the very large section of toiling humanity. Will not the work of our Honorary Protector of the Depressed Classes become comparatively easy, if only the Government will take strong measures of prohibition? Has not our educational policy been responsible, Sir, for producing graduates at Rs. 15 per mensem? Is this a spectacle which the country can tolerate any more? Are not the highest places in Departmental offices filled by improper drafting of men from other Departments on their maximum salary, thereby doing a double wrong, the one of depriving the legitimate claim of the Departmental subordinate to his promotion to the place of the Departmental Head, and the other of wasting public funds? Is this all? No, Sir, many an item of expenditure disallowed by this House, most of them unanimously, has been restored by the Diwan, making a free use of that weapon, which, in some other places, is seen to be used very sparingly and used not at all in some others. How did the Diwan of Cochin feel when he must have read the other day the retiring Diwan of Travancore make an observation that he had never to make use of his powers of certification? It must be an eye-opener to the present Diwan of Cochin to stop the very free use of the axe that has unfortunately been placed in his hands for an unduly long time. And what about the resolutions that have been passed by this House from time to time? During the one year of the existence of the Second Legislative Council, of the many resolutions tabled for discussion, only a few come to be discussed for want of time and, out of nearly two dozen resolutions passed, only two or three have been accepted by the Government, and that even not in their entirety, but only in part. We have before us the sad spectacle of the Government being unable to find its way even to remove liquor shops from the side of the roads to such a distance as to enable people to pass along them unmolested. It is extremely painful, Sir, to note that, even when the State is having a son of the soil as its Diwan, the country could not progress on the lines its chosen representatives

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

want it to move. What do all these things reveal? To my mind, it appears, Sir, that, even after the lapse of three long years from the day the Hon'ble Member for the Landlords in his characteristic way described this Council as "an ornamental toy in the hands of the Executive", it continues still to be the same old ornamental toy with this difference perhaps that to-day we are housed in a more ornamental hall which additional ornamentation we could very well have done without. I feel, Sir, that it is a sheer waste of valuable time and public money to have such a Council whose recommendations are systametically trifled with by the Executive. Is this not, Sir, the most propitious time, when we have a quadruple combination of a benevolent Maharaja, whose only concern is the welfare of his subjects as amply evidenced by His Highness' 70th Birthday Boons of far-reaching good to the people, an experienced son of the soil as the Diwan, a Prince of the Royal House with advantages of foreign travel and study to advise him and 30 chosen representatives of the people, all willing to whole-heartedly co-operate with the Government in all matters for the advancement of the country along right lines, to show out educated Cochin as the model for other States to follow? Well, Sir, if advantage will not be taken of the present situation to set things right before it is too late, I am afraid that the poor suffering people, who have begun slowly to realise the immense powers in them and whose voice we are echoing here, I am afraid, I say again, these poor people will surely act with what results, I leave you, Sir, to conjecture for yourself. I will, in all earnestness, appeal to the power that be to do that which will avert such a catastrophe.

Before concluding, I wish to place before the Government some of the crying needs of my constituency. The conversion of the Vadakkancheri dispensary, which, according to the Chief Medical Officer, is but a misnomer, into a hospital is a necessity that is keenly felt. The number of out-patients has in recent years especially during the days of that true servant of God, Mr. Devadasan, increased by leaps and bounds, the number of persons refused admission for want of beds and provision as in-patients also is on the increase. Situated as Vadakkancheri is, the dispensary has at once to be converted into a hospital with a sufficient number of beds. The inbabitants of Vadakkancheri and its suburbs have been asking for a Girls' High School. In reply to a question of mine it was stated in this House that with 15 pupils the Government will be prepared to open the IV Form. After making inquiries regarding strength and accommodation and being satisfied that there is both, the Government has told

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the people that the matter will lie over for the present. I understand that the Director of Public Instruction had even provided for the same in his budget for 1105. I urge that at least with the next educational year the Vadakkancheri Lower Secondary School for girls may be raised to a Higher Grade School. An easy means of communication between Vadakkancheri and Enkakad which is now cut off by the Railway and a river is an absolute necessity. I understand that the Northern Division Assistant Engineer (now on leave) had recommended against the wishes of the people a connection from the Ottupara-Machad cart-track to this village. This road when constructed will give the people a very circuitous route to Vadakkancheri. Instead of giving the village the benefit of quarter of a mile road the people are offered a round-about way of nearly 3 miles in length. But to my relief I understand that the sympathetic Overseer at Vadakkancheri has pointed out the proper route to the Chief Engineer. I hope the Chief Engineer will consult the wishes of the people before the work is actually taken on hand. Another thing which I would urge on the Government is the metalling of the Veloor road which is the only means of road communication to the arecanut mart at Vadakkancheri where the very large output of arecanut produce of Veloor and the neighbourhood has to be taken for selling. The condition of the road at present is simply miserable.

An equally important thing which has to be immediately looked into is the conversion of the proposed bridge over the Kecheri river at Aloor into a cartable one. There are Panchayat roads coming very near this on either side of the river. The lands in that part of the Talappally Taluk are comparatively not fertile and large quantities of manure have generally to be carried thither in carts. The conversion, is, therefore, an absolute necessity. Yet another thing to be done is the conversion of the road from Koonamuchi to Guruvayoor provided for in the budget for 1105 also into a cartable one which, if done, will open out a communication to Chōwghat, a commercial centre. I would also pray for a road of nearly 3 furlongs in length from Kecheri to Parappur Kavu, a Thiyya temple of great importance. A road connecting Vellatanjur road with the Erumappetti road passing through Thayoor and a good pathway for one-fourth of a mile in length to the Tuvanoor people are some of the other crying needs of my constituency. Lastly, I would urge for more lights for the Panchayats of Vadakkancheri, Veloor and Choondal. The bazaars, lanes and pathways of these Panchayat areas are very shabbily lighted and the defects have to be remedied at once. Sir, I have done, and I close my observations with a

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

fervent prayer that things may be mended before it is too late to do so.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ.—ഈ ബഡ്ജറിനെ പറ്റി വിശേഷിച്ചു യാതൊന്നും പറയേണ്ടതില്ല. പറഞ്ഞിട്ടാവശ്യവുമുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. Special Finance Committee report-ന്റെ ആവശ്യത്തിനെന്നു പറഞ്ഞു ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു lump provision കാണിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെ വേണമെങ്കിൽ ഒരു എട്ടു പത്തു ലക്ഷവും കൂടി കാണിക്കാമായിരുന്നു എന്നൊരഭിപ്രായം മാത്രം പറയാം. ചില വാക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മാത്രമല്ലെ കൃത്യമായ തുക കാണിക്കേണ്ടതുള്ളൂ. ഞാൻ പറയാൻ പോകുന്ന സംഗതികൾ ഇവിടെ പലർക്കും രുചിക്കയില്ല. അതെല്ലാം ഉൾനാട്ടിലെ കായ്ങ്ങളാണ്. പറഞ്ഞിട്ടു വലിയ ഫലമൊന്നുമുണ്ടായിട്ടല്ല. പറയാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതു കൊണ്ടു പറയാമെന്നെ ഉള്ളൂ. ഉൾനാട്ടിലെ ചിലകായ്ങ്ങൾ സർക്കാരിൽ നിന്നു നോക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടു. നികുതിയായിട്ടും കള്ളുഷാപ്പുകൾ മുതലായ ഇനങ്ങൾ മൂലമായിട്ടും അവിടങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു ഒരു നല്ല തുക സർവ്വെമെണ്ടിലെക്കു കിട്ടിവരുന്നുണ്ടു. ഈ പണത്തിനു വേണ്ടിയെങ്കിലും അവിടത്തുകാർ ചാകാതെ കിടക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ എന്നറിയെണ്ട ഒരു ചുമതല സർവ്വെമെണ്ടിനുണ്ടു്. ഈ സംഗതി നമ്മുടെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ധരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മതിയായിരുന്നു. അവർ യാതൊന്നും തന്നെ അറിയുന്നില്ലെന്നതിനു അനേകം ദൃഷ്ടാന്തങ്ങൾ പറയാം. ചേലക്കരെ വസൂരിദീനം തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടു രണ്ടു മാസമായി. സർവ്വെമെണ്ടു ഡിസ്പറിൽ ഒരു പേക്കു ദിനമുണ്ടു, ആരും മരിച്ചിട്ടില്ല, എന്നു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തി. കാണുമ്പോൾ അനവധി മരണം അവിടെ നടന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലം ഇവിടെ plague എന്നൊ മറ്റൊ പറഞ്ഞു എത്ര ലഹളയാണ കൂട്ടിയത? എത്ര പണമാണ് ചിലവിട്ടത്? അതു കൊച്ചിയിലും എറണാകുളത്തും ആയതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ ഒരു ജീവനു ഉൾനാട്ടുകളിലെ രണ്ടു ജീവന്റെ വിലയുണ്ടോ ആവൊ?

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡെണ്ട്.—ഇതു ഇവിടെ അറിയിക്കാതെ എങ്ങിനെ അറിയും?

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ.—അതു് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ചുമതലയാണ്. വിവരം അറിവു തരെണ്ടതിനെങ്കിലും ഇപ്പോൾ ആരും ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഒരാളെ ഉടനെ നിശ്ചയിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഈ ദീനത്തെത്തടയുന്നതിനും മറ്റും ഇതുവരെ യാതൊന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണ്മാനില്ല. അവിടെ ഒരു വഴിയമ്പലത്തിൽ ഒരാൾ ദീനമായി കിടന്നിരുന്നു. ജനങ്ങൾക്കു വഴിയിൽ കൂടി നടക്കാൻ യാതൊരു തരവുമില്ലായിരുന്നു. ചില Revenue Officers ആ വഴിയിൽ കൂടി പോയപ്പോൾ ജനങ്ങൾ അവരോടു സങ്കടം പറഞ്ഞു. Subscriptions

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

പിരിച്ചു വേണ്ടതു ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളുന്നതിന്നാണു് അവർ സദയം അനുവദിച്ചതു. (ചിരി.) ഇപ്പോളും അവിടെ ഈ രോഗം ധാരാളമായിട്ടുണ്ടു. School ഈ കാരണത്താൽ മുടക്കിയിരുന്നു. പക്ഷെ അതു കൊണ്ടു മാത്രം രോഗത്തിന്നു ശമനം കണ്ടില്ല. അവിടെ ഒരു വലിയ ചന്തയുണ്ടു. പത്തുപതിനഞ്ചു നാഴിക അകലെ നിന്നു ആളുകൾ ഈ ചന്തക്കു വരുന്നുമുണ്ടു. അവിടെയുള്ള കടകളിൽ അകത്തു ദീനവും പുറത്തു പലഹാര വില്പനയും ധാരാളം നടപ്പുണ്ടു്. ദീനം ഈ തരത്തിൽ എട്ടു പത്തു നാഴിക അകലെക്കു പരക്കുകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു. പിന്നെ vaccination ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു എന്താണു് പ്രയോജനം? ഇവിടെ പ്ലേഗു വന്നപ്പോൾ ഇതു തന്നെയാണൊ ചെയ്തതു്? അതിന്നു ചില സെഗ്രഗേഷനും മറ്റുമാണു് വേണ്ടതെന്നാണു ഞാൻ ധരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ timely action എടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ ഇത്രയൊക്കെ ലഹള ഉണ്ടാകുമായിരുന്നില്ല. ഈ ഏഴു മാസം കൊണ്ടു ഇതു ഏതു സ്ഥിതിയിൽ എത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു നോക്കുക! ജനങ്ങൾക്കു തന്നെ ഒരു കാര്യം പരക്കെ ബോദ്ധ്യമാവുക കഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇതിന്റെ നിവൃത്തിക്കു എറണാകുളത്തേക്കു നോക്കുന്നതിൽ ഭേദം മേല്പോട്ടു നോക്കുകയാണു്. അവിടെ school പൂട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും മാക്കറ നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതു എന്തുകൊണ്ടാണു് നിർത്തൽ ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നതു?

ഡിവാൻ ബഹദൂർ ഡാക്ടർ വി. വർഗ്ഗീസ്സു്.—ഒരു നിർത്താൻ ലൊ ഇല്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ.—ലൊ ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കണം. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു സങ്കടം പറയാനല്ലെ തരമുള്ളു. തരമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ചെയ്യുതരിക. അതു തന്നെ. ഇനിയും വല്ല നടവടിക്കും ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ അതിന്നു സമയം തെറ്റീട്ടില്ലെന്നു മാത്രം പറയാം.

ഇനി കൃഷിയുടെ കഥ.—കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ധനം, വിത്തു, വല്ലി, കന്നു ഇതുകളാണു. ഒരു കൊല്ലത്തിനകത്തു ആ പ്രദേശത്തു കന്നുതീരെ ഇല്ലാതാകുമെന്നു ഞാൻ തിട്ടു പറയാം. സ്വല്പദിക്കിലും കന്നുകാലികൾക്കു സുഖക്കേടാണു്. സകലവും നഷ്ടമായിട്ടാണു കലാശിക്കുന്നതും. അതിന്നും യാതൊരു ഏർപ്പാടുംചെയ്കകാണുന്നില്ല. Veterinary Hospital കാർ വല്ലതും ഒന്നു ചെയ്തിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ ഇത്രയും ഭാസസ്ഥിതി വരികയില്ലായിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ ആനപ്പാറ ഒരു വലിയ കോളെജു് മുതയായസംഗതികളാണു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശത്തിലിരിക്കുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇതൊന്നുമല്ല ആവശ്യം. ഒരു രാജ്യസ്ഥിതി നിശ്ചയിക്കേണ്ടതു തലസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ ഉല്കൃഷ്ടംകൊണ്ടൊ അവിടെയുള്ള വലിയ വലിയ കെട്ടിടങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടൊ മറ്റൊ അല്ല. ഉൾനാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതികൊണ്ടാണു്.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

അങ്ങിനെയുള്ളവരുടെ കായ്യം ഈ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട അനോഷിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നു ഞാൻ സധൈര്യം പറയാം. റോഡുകളാണെങ്കിൽ ഇല്ല. യാത്രയ്ക്കാണെങ്കിൽ വലിയ കഷ്ടം. ദൈവാധീനംകൊണ്ടു ഒരുപാതയുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് കഷ്ടിച്ചുകഴിയാം. അതുകൂടിയില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പൊതിച്ചോറും കെട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു ഇങ്ങോട്ടു വരേണ്ടിവരുമായിരുന്നു. ഈ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു കൊല്ലംതോറും വൻ തുക ലക്ഷം രൂപവീതം ഉണ്ടാക്കി അതുമുഴുവനും ചിലവാക്കിയെന്നു പറയുന്നതു സമ്മതിക്കുവാൻ ഉൾനാട്ടിലെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തീരെതരമില്ല.

ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു വഴികൾ പണിയിച്ചിട്ടാൽ മാത്രം പോരാ. അവയെ ശരിയായി maintain ചെയ്യണം. അതിനു തരമില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പബ്ലിക്കു റോഡുകൾ ഇനിമേലാൽ പണിയിക്കരുതു. Maintenance ഇല്ലാത്ത investments എപ്പോഴും നഷ്ടംതന്നെയാവുകയുള്ളു. ഇതാ ഇപ്പോൾ തിരുവില്വാമലയിൽ ഫെനാഴിക വഴിനന്നാക്കുന്നതിനു അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു ഒരു തുകയാണു്. ഈ സംഖ്യകൊണ്ടു ഏതുവിധം repair ആണു് സാധിക്കുക? ഒന്നിലൊ കൂടുതൽ പണം അനുവദിക്കണം; അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ആ റോഡു പണിവേണ്ടെന്നു വെയ്ക്കണം. ആരെങ്കിലും അങ്ങോട്ടുവരുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ റോഡിന്റെ സ്ഥിതി നല്ലപോലെ കാണുകയും ചെയ്യാമല്ലൊ. Maintain ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഭാവമില്ലെങ്കിൽ original works ന ഒന്നുംതന്നെ കൊടുക്കരുതെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു. വാണിയമ്പാറ മുതലായ നല്ല റോഡുകൾക്കു കൊല്ലംതോറും budget allotment കൂടിക്കൂടിവരും. എന്നാൽ ഈവക കൂടുതൽ allotments ഉൾനാടുകളിലാണു് വേണ്ടതു്. അവിടെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു പലപ്രത്യേക ആവശ്യങ്ങളുമുണ്ടു്. ഒരു കിണറൊ മറെറാ അവിടങ്ങളിൽ പണയിച്ചുകൊടുത്താൽ "സർക്കാരിൽനിന്നു ചെയ്തതന്ന ഉപകാര" മെന്നപറഞ്ഞു ജനങ്ങൾ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ എന്നും അഭിനന്ദിക്കും.

പിന്നെ കൃഷിക്കാരായ സാധുക്കളെ രക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനും ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു വല്ലതും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണു്. ഖജനാവിൽ പണം എത്ര കെട്ടിക്കിടക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു് നോക്കിയാലല്ലെ അറിവാൻ തരമുള്ളു. നമ്മുടെ സ്റ്റോറിൽ ആവശ്യമില്ലാത്തതിനൊക്കെ പണം ധാരാളമുണ്ടു്. ആവശ്യമുള്ളതിനൊന്നും ഇല്ലതാനും. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽ ഉള്ള പണം മൈസൂരിലൊ നാഷണൽ ബാങ്കിലൊ മറെറാ കൊണ്ടുപോയി കൊടുക്കുകയല്ല വേണ്ടതു്. നല്ല ബാങ്കുകൾ തുടങ്ങി നാട്ടിലെ കൃഷ്കന്മാർക്കു ഭൂമി പണയമെഴുതി മേടിച്ചു പണം കൊടുക്കുകയാണു് വേണ്ടതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഒരു കാലത്തും അപജയം വരുന്നതുമല്ല.

ഇപ്പോൾ അനവധി പണം കള്ളുവിറ്റു കിട്ടുന്നുണ്ടു്. Prohibition നടത്തണം എന്നും എല്ലാവരും പറയുന്നുണ്ടു്. അങ്ങിനെ നടത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു പറകയാണെങ്കിൽ. അതുകൊ

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ണ്ടുള്ള നഷ്ടം പരിഹരിക്കുവാൻ എന്തുമാർഗ്ഗമാണ് ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നത്? മദ്യനിരോധനയത്തെ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു എന്ന് എല്ലാവരും പറഞ്ഞാൽ മാത്രം പോരാ. നഷ്ടപരിഹാരത്തിന്ന് ഒരു മാർഗ്ഗമാണ് ആദ്യം ആലോചിച്ചു കണ്ടുപിടിക്കേണ്ടത്. നികുതി പരിച്ചു അതു ചിലവുംചെയ്യു എന്ന് കാണിപ്പാൻ ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു budget ഒന്നും ആവശ്യമില്ല. പണമുണ്ടാക്കുവാനുള്ള scheme ആണ് ഉണ്ടാക്കേണ്ടത്. അതുണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ടോ? കെട്ടിക്കിടക്കുന്ന പണം ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപകാരപ്രദമായ വിധത്തിൽ കൊടുക്കത്തക്ക ഒരു ഏർപ്പാടു ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടോ? ഇങ്ങിനെയെല്ലാം വേണമെന്ന് ഞാൻകഴിഞ്ഞ Budget Session ൽ പറഞ്ഞു ഇപ്പോഴും പറയുന്നു. ഇതെല്ലാം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു കേട്ടാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

ഇനി ചോദ്യങ്ങളുടെ കാര്യം. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ അഭിമതികളെ പുറത്തുകാണിപ്പാൻ മാത്രം ചോദ്യങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടു വരുന്നവരാണ് ഞങ്ങളെന്നുള്ള ധാരണ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു കളയണം. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടും മനുഷ്യരാണെന്നും, അവർക്കും ചിലതെറ്റുകളും മറവും വരാവുന്നതാണെന്നും ഈ ഭാഗത്തുകാരും മനസ്സിലാക്കണം. ഈ supplementary ചോദ്യങ്ങളുടെ സ്വരത്തിലാണ് സർവ്വുമിരിക്കുന്നത്. ഈ സ്വരം ആണ് ആ ഭാഗത്തുകാരെ അനാവശ്യമായി ടിക്കിടം ചെയ്യുന്നതും. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ ഈ ഭാഗത്തുകാർ കുറെക്കൂടി നയമുപയോഗിക്കണം. മിക്കവാനും മറുമെമ്പർമാരും കുറെക്കൂടി നയത്തോടുകൂടി പെരുമാറുന്നതായാൽ സൈരമായിക്കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടാം. ഒന്നുതീച്ചയാണ്. ഇതു നമ്മുടെ തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു തീർച്ചയാക്കീട്ടുള്ള സഭയാണ്. ഈ കൌൺസിൽ "ബാധ" അതിവേഗം ഒഴിഞ്ഞുപോകുന്നതുമല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു അതിനെകൊണ്ടു നടക്കുന്നവനാണ് മിടുക്കൻ. ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതെല്ലാം അന്യോന്യം കുറ്റം കേട്ടയോജിച്ചു പോകുന്നതാണ് ഏറ്റവും നല്ലതു്. കൌൺസിൽ എന്നു പറയുന്നതു ഒരു ദിവസത്തെ ലൈസൻസ്സ് ആണ് എന്നുള്ള attitude മാറ്റാൻ നിങ്ങൾ തയ്യാറുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ എല്ലാം നന്നായിക്കൊള്ളും.

The House rose for the day at 5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Secretary to the Council.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly